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NEW FALL
TV SEASON

THE FIGHT OF HIS LIFE

John Turner's
Uphill Battle
With The Polls

The Spin Doctors'
New TV Tricks



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Maclean's

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COVER

THE FIGHT OF HIS LIFE



Tightly scripted photo opportunities and so-called sound bites staged for TV dominate the electioneering designed for the party leaders by their strategists. That puts John Turner at a disadvantage compared with Brian Mulroney and Edward Broadbent in the current campaign because, Turner's advisers say, his style is often too incoherent to translate into easy viewing.

— 54

WORLD

TELEVISION DIPLOMACY

In an extraordinary display of television diplomacy, King Hussein of Jordan intervened directly in Israel's Nov. 1 election. The king, appearing on American TV, supported the Labour Party's Shimon Peres in his proposal for a Middle East peace conference and he denounced Yitzhak Shamir's Likud party.

— 26

TELEVISION

PRIME-TIME DECLINE



Much of the strike-delayed fall television schedule presented by the major American networks reinforces evidence that the Big Three have become the dinosaurs of prime time. There are new faces on the small screen, including Candice Bergen's, but the characters remain the same.

— 40

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OPENING NOTES

French lessons for Joe Ghiz, homework for John Crosbie and a warning to drug pushers to limit their calls

THE BAD AND THE UGLY

Albert Goldman's controversial new book, *The Lives of John Lennon*, depicts the ex-Beatle as a wife-beater, drug addict and anti-Semite. But many critics have denounced Goldman's portrayal as inaccurate and malicious. And now John Browner, a former Toronto rock promoter, has joined the chorus of condemnation. Browner, 41, first met Lennon in 1968, and Goldman interviewed him for eight hours in 1986. His memories of Lennon formed the basis for two key chapters of the book. According to Browner, he realized about "the good, the bad and the ugly" sides of Lennon's character. But Browner claims that he can find "no good at all" in the book. He and several supporters are now attempting to dissuade people from buying the book by selling T-shirts on the streets of Los Angeles and New York City. They feature an image of Goldman's book—with a red slash across its cover. Said Browner: "If John were alive, he would have a grassroots approach like this," laughs.

Lennon, take *One* a protest over two key chapters



JOHN LONN

Tools of the writer's trade

Toronto's International Festival of Authors has become one of the most popular events of fall, a feast for book-lovers and literary shoppers. At one sold-out event earlier this month, a sign audience latched on four prominent writers discussed the tools of their trade. Canada's Margaret Atwood complained that she wrote with a left-hand pen because she was left-handed and computer writers and computers. Indian novelist Nayantara Sahgal said that frequent power cuts in Bombay forced her to use a manual typewriter. French writer Michel Tournier, who often writes at a typewriter, has also avoided computers. And British travel writer Jan Morris claimed that computers are not vital to the creative process. At that point, the embarrassed moderator concluded



JOHN LONN

Atwood: avoiding high tech

the group that a computer company, Wang Canada Ltd., had sponsored the festival. The point was not lost, but pen power still reigns.

Top of the Moscow pops

Creedence Clearwater Revival, which disbanded in 1972, is now top of the charts in the Soviet Union. The official Soviet news agency, TASS, reported that a collection of the U.S. rock band's songs had joined *Rolling Stone's* list on its Top 50 album list—a new feature compiled through random street polling. But with golden odds from the West, Soviet music fans are discriminating. Officially at Melody, a state-run record store in Moscow, say that sales of Pat Boone's 1957 hit, *April Love*, are slow. Even *ghazals* have its limits.

Former foes in uniform

Jean-Pierre Sengulien has just taken on his biggest challenge. The French major-general is the first commander of a 4,100-member brigade created by a 1985 agreement between two former enemies—France and Germany. Naming the brigade, whose officers will speak French and German on alternate weeks, is the commander's first problem. The West Germans had favored a reference to Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Emperor who united most of Europe. But the name had an unfortunate history: during the Second World War, a Charlemagne division fought for Nazi Germany.



Ghiz (left): Broadbent: spending time with the new family

FRENCH FOR THE FUTURE

Prince Joe Ghiz's 16-day absence from Prince Edward Island earlier this month has manifested speculation across the closely knit province about his political future. The reason: Ghiz spent the time in Quebec, approving his French. The premier, who began studying the language 11 months after taking office in 1986, had asked Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa for tips on becoming bilingual. Ghiz was in Quebec, 175 km north of Quebec City, last week. By coincidence, he stayed with the new family who had helped

federal New Democrat Leader Edward Broadbent learn French. In the opinion of many Islanders, the premier wanted to polish his fluency as a prelude to running for the national Liberal leadership, if John Turner loses the election and steps down. Declared James MacNeill, publisher of the weekly newspaper *The Eastern Graphic* in Montserrat: "Ghiz is definitely leaning to be John Turner's successor." Ghiz has denied this suggestion. But in politics, actions sometimes speak louder than words—in any language.

THE NEXT BEST THING TO BEING THERE

During the past few years, electronic pagers have become the high-tech tool of high-school drug dealers. As a result, the state of Michigan has banned the portable message device on school campuses, where educators reported that some dealers received as many as 5,000 calls per month. But California lawmakers have been slower to get that message. Because of that, Matronella Paging Service of Los Angeles has received permission from the California Public Utilities Commission to levy a \$1.25 surcharge on any call after the first 1,000 received each month. Company spokesmen say that the charge will offset only "a very few" of its more than 100,000 customers. But for those making thousands of calls, the monthly payment could be as much as \$5,000 more than the average \$25 monthly fee. For California drug pushers, it may no longer pay to reach out and touch someone.



Showing off a prison

Vincenzo Delia Nocer has a dream—and a unique campaign promise for voters in the federal riding of Downsview, just north of Montreal. There, the accountant Terry McLean wants to transform a penal institution into a museum showcasing the institution's history since 1873. The museum society project will become vacant next year as federal authorities transfer the last of more than 200 inmates to a new penitentiary in Prince Minister Brian Mulroney's current riding of Mississauga. According to Delia Nocer, Mulroney has given general support for a plan to transform the structure into a tourist attraction. Added Delia Nocer: "Visitors will see the ruins where they used to hang men. Everybody is fascinated by stuff like that." Delia Nocer would even like to sell souvenir T-shirts and books on the site. Watch for *Local Penitentiary The Museum*.

Delia Nocer: an unusual campaign promise

No comment

Last June, *International Trade Minister John Crosbie* admitted that he had not read the complete text of the free



Crosbie interrupted trying trade agreement. And last week, he was still approaching it with caution. The minister halted the taping of a CBC TV interview to say that he was not prepared to answer questions about the treaty's effect on Ontario's garment industry without prior notice. Said Crosbie: "I'm not a multi-lin moment encyclopedia." Or even a free trade book.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



'Snared by our own insecurities'

BY FRED BRUNING

After the launch of space shuttle Discovery, *Time* magazine declared, "The rage is back!" and, no doubt, many Americans shared the sentiment. Nearly three years earlier, Challenger had ignited all the coast of Florida, killing all seven aboard—and, most certainly, but unfortunately, too in the United States, technology is no more, things may go wrong with education, with race relations, with drug enforcement, with family structure, hospital care, police protection, law services, garbage pickup, Mid Street and movie theatres, too, when it comes to making things when, what, and how into space, we're the ones who write the book.

The Challenger accident was a nasty experience for obvious reasons. Losses were grievously felt, and the top brass at NASA sat in a locked room to pump their own gas, let alone sling a rocket toward the stars. We had run out of the right stuff, and there wasn't much to replace it. For a while, Washington seemed to be pondering a fly into Central America—nothing like a run little showing war to boost sagging spirits—but things got complicated, and, for once, the cowboy played at the business. As though we didn't have enough trouble, the dithered Japanese kept pushing their sales and cable television sets and otherwise hawking us in the market place. Intertwined with the unique notion of high quality and low cost, Americans brought the staff by the hundreds. Three weeks days, to be sure, when it won't only be believing we were number 1.

Americans always are leashed for that, of course—thinking we are at the very margin of control of the universe, or, at least, wanting to be. The following, log-sounding, rapid from Times on the New Yorker who big checks his way to the front of the line is as much a symbol of America as Uncle Sam himself. What comes often overlooks, however, is that a shopping spree is at such here—that, as some

Fred Bruning is a writer with *Norwalk* in New York.

You think we don't know that people find us crude, ignorant and peculiar? We know, we know

boiling, command, coast-to-coast sense, we have become snared by our own insecurities and trapped into thinking that we're not worth much unless we persist in bearing our considerable weight against the world. The outcome is predictable. You think I don't know that people find us crude, ignorant and peculiar? We know, we know.

A correspondent who recently completed a two-year assignment in Europe wrote that our country across the Atlantic not only disappears of us but, are determined to announce their feelings at every opportunity. "In the wrong days of the Reagan era," observed Adam Przeworski of *Norwalk*. "European public opinion of the United States is as low as it has ever been since World War II." Endless is the list of complaints, he reports, and undeniably the order of our economy. "I grew weary of being told that Americans were too big, too untrained, too practical, too loud, too friendly, too modest, too coarse."

One recalls the old Tom and Jerry cartoons, in which Tom, the cat, is regularly and hilariously outwitted by Jerry, the mouse, with the result that Tom must spend the remainder of the episode on crutches. Nothing better than seeing the big guy take a beating, especially

when he so obviously parades his limitations. Tom succumbed too fast, too soon—too fast! Ah, what has become of the quality of mercy? The argument here is that we are increasingly well-acquainted with our shortcomings, more mindful of our enemies and overbearing than any outsider might imagine. During the presidential election, the Republicans and Democratic nominees have sought to anticipate water security by suggesting all will be hunky-dory if the populace is not clever enough to reject the policies of one candidate and embrace those of the other. George Bush is particularly effusive on the subject of a remarkable America as America great and true, but then, remember, he is a millionaire and eagerly done had reason to think otherwise. The rest of us have no doubts, despite the political overt talk. Only our leaders are so at peace with their delusions.

Amplified we may appear, but is intelligence really the issue? Forget those blowhairs in the ten golden hats who are forever threatening to buy the bottle and fire the broad-chest clock, and ignore the newspapers who complicate that they haven't had a decent night since leaving Manhattan. If all countries were judged according to the character and social grace of its leaders, nuclear apocalypse would have commenced long ago. Certainly, the important outcome, also, will overlook campaign rhetoric at this regard. Evaluating us on the basis of political speeches would be like measuring our literature by means of the Sunday posters.

Trained to accuse their own perfection, Americans carry a peculiar burden. The expectation remains that always and in every way we will succeed, a persistent fantasy despite the rude setbacks we have suffered since mid-century. First Korea proved an addictive interlude, and then came Vietnam. The war caused cancer at home and outrage abroad and suggested to a generation of Americans that their efforts had really told them lies. More recently, our industrial sector has fallen into despair and we have become a dollar nation. The dollar is wobbly. This summer, we lost the Olympic gold in baseball. Somebody beat us at our own game. What is happening here?

It does not seem surprising that we take reassurance when we find it, or that from time to time we crash at the grand spectacle of space exploration. The launch of Discovery drew thousands to Cape Canaveral, and, four days later, the shuttle was launched. The launch of the Challenger was to witness the shuttle's return. "The future is real," and one wonders. "We're going to go and go and go into space and there's no limit. We just need to stop back and regroup and reenergize. Now we can go as far as we want."

Her optimism is laudable and typical. Many Americans want deeply to be convinced that we can go as far as we want, that far as, and on alone, there are no boundaries, no limits on heaven or earth. We want to say the word, in any and the best of it. If there are worries, it is a time to put them aside, to trust again in our own speed and ability. We want to see the action before it, at most believe in magic first.



Blocking the highway at Little Buffalo impoverished existence at the margins of Canadian society

CANADA

MAKING A LAND DEAL

Once again, there was the drudgery of anger, threats that the confrontation could end in violence and the arrival of federal negotiators to mediate claims by the Lubicon Cree Indians in land. But this time there was a blockade of some 85 square miles of territory around Little Buffalo, Alberta, northwest of Edmonton, which the Lubicon claim as ancestral homeland. Then, in quick succession late last week, came a sudden road raid and 27 arrests, and an agreement between Alberta Premier Donald Getty and Lubicon Chief Benoit Omasiyak to meet. Finally, after more than six hours of talks last Saturday in the northern Alberta town of Grimshaw, the two men emerged smiling from the Mile Zero Motel bar and associated restaurant on a settlement that would give the 478 band members the land title that they have been seeking in decades of struggle.

AFTER AN IMPASSE, THE PREMIER OF ALBERTA AND THE CHIEF OF THE LUBICONS MAKE A DEAL

The agreement requires approval by the federal government, which has jurisdiction over native affairs. And the deal reached in Grimshaw left the future negotiations a Lubicon claim to jurisdiction over resources at

about 4,000 square miles of land—much in oil and timber—then the land says in its traditional hunting and trapping grounds. But Getty agreed that the Lubicon should have title to the Little Buffalo homeland in a reserve. Said Getty: "I hope that after the chief's band has this land they find an outlet under it."

For his part, Omasiyak acknowledged that "we've still got a ways to go in dealing with the federal government." Added the chief, who praised Getty for his initiative: "It's not everything we were looking for but it's a whole lot more than we've been getting."

The agreement, which Getty said he would help to finalize with Ottawa, came one week after the Lubicon set up their land blockade. On Oct. 15, groups of young Lubicon wearing jeans and jackets confronted federal police vehicles in the gravel of their ramshackle logcamp. gunners mounted nose berceuses strung between the stables. The Indians said that they

in Peace River, Judge Ronald Berger released the 27 protesters after they agreed not to participate in any more blockades and to appear in court on contempt charges this week. Speaking for the others, O'Reilly told the court that he accepted the conditions, but he did so with the understanding that "the court does not have jurisdiction and under the reservation that the land is state in Crow land, Lubicon land." Within an hour of the police raid, Getty spoke to Omasiyak by telephone, and the chief agreed to meet with the premier.

Getty insisted that the meeting be held in Grimshaw, about 130 km west of the Lubicon land, and said in a Little Buffalo Omasiyak agreed to that, but told reporters that if there was no progress made toward a settlement as the land claim dispute ran head wind would mean a blockade. Indeed, many of the 27 arrested had already returned to the blockade and set up camps that they called "secession points." Said Omasiyak: "It could be a very short meeting."

The Lubicon's troubles are rooted in a historical overview. When the federal government signed northern Alberta in 1889 to establish reserves for identified Indian lands, they somehow allowed the tiny band on the isolated Little Buffalo Lake and no treaty was signed. In fact, it was not until 1930 that the first white man passed

the remote settlement. The following year, attempts to establish a reserve were sidetracked as Ottawa geared up for the Second World War. Efforts were interrupted in the mid-1970s, following the discovery of oil in the area. But since 1980, the band has been deadlocked in legal disputes over how much land it is entitled to own. On the basis of treaty rights that cover most northern Alberta natives, the Lubicon argue that they qualify for 126 acres per band member—more than 95 square miles, based on the band's claim to a population of 478. Indeed, late last week, a young Omasiyak said that the recent birth of a Lubicon baby had added 126 acres to the land claim. In addition, the band has demanded compensation for oil taken from wells drilled since 1978 on land it claims title to, as well as future royalties from resource development over a vast area of traditional Lubicon hunting grounds. "The compensation is negotiable," said Fred Larson, a band adviser. "But the amount of land is not."

Successive federal and provincial governments, however, have challenged the Lubicon claim. In particular, they have questioned the native status of many people that the Lubicon include in their membership. And last week, some non-Indian residents of the blockade area continued to criticize the scale of the Lubicon claim. Chester L'Hirondelle, 41, whose family has farmed a 390-acre homestead near Lubicon Lake since 1913, expressed outrage at the prospect of any of their land being returned to the Lubicon. "The province is offering to relocate us," he said. "But it would be morally wrong for these people to push us aside." According to L'Hirondelle, about half of those included in the Lubicon population figures are actually Métis, while others moved to the area from other provinces as recently as the 1960s. Said L'Hirondelle: "Now Chief Omasiyak wants twenty rights for these."

Whatever their exact numbers, the Lubicon have long suffered from economic misery beyond their control. Since previously sanctioned oil development began in earnest in the Little Buffalo area a dozen years ago, the band's traditional means of hunting and trapping have declined dramatically. Unemployment, alcoholism and tuberculosis have ravaged the band. Observed adviser L'Hirondelle: "These people really are in terrible trouble. By 1985, no more than 95 per cent were so well-off. Imagine what five years of their debt to a community."

He added, "They are at the point where the government should either settle or break them out."

Until last week, the Lubicon's difficult existence seemed likely to continue undisturbed.



Getty: puct at Mike Zero

GAINING A FRANCHISE

Cy to 54,664 centrally located Canadians will be eligible to vote for the first time in the New Brunswick Election. The Federal Court of Canada struck down in unconstitutionality in Elections Act clause that prohibited them from voting.

REOPENING AN IMPASSE

Canada opened an embassy in Tel Aviv for the first time since relations with Israel deteriorated in 1950, when Canadians helped negotiate an American diplomatic pact at the country after Israeli diplomats took over the U.S. Embassy in 1959.

TESTIMONY REQUIRED

The appeal division of the Nova Scotia Superior Court ruled that cabinet ministers must testify at the provincial royal commission examining why Donald Marshall served 11 years in prison for a murder he did not commit.

ALL-NEWS SO-ARRAB

The federal cabinet unanimously endorsed the CBC to proceed with a 24-hour all-news television service, replacing National News broadcaster Dr. Charles Altier's appeal of a license first awarded last November. The CBC has since added a French service and more private-sector participation to its plans.

FREE TRADE JAM

Trade Minister John Crosbie accepted a \$100 million award from the National Citizens' Coalition for the "defense of political and economic freedom" in his promotion of the free trade agreement with the United States. Crosbie said that he would donate the money to charity.

THE EPA SAYS NO

Turning down a request from Ontario and nine states, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency refused to order cutbacks in acid rain emissions and said it would instead press for American industries are polluting Canada.

A MORE HUMANE CHOICE

The Yukon government said that it would ban the use of leg-gal traps within two years. The territory's 750 trappers will be offered replacement traps that are more humane.

DEATH IN A COLD HOLE

Rescue teams recovered the body of miner Getty Merwin from the Campbell Road Lake gold mine in northwestern Ontario two days after a tunnel wall collapsed, killing 56, leaving 3,000 feet underground.

entirely. The unwillingness of provincial legislators to budge over the issue of a proposed reserve had scuttled several rounds of talks between the land and the two governments—but of which each again agreed to try something.

But while the impasse continued, the local's plight attracted mounting attention—outside Canada as well as within. Last year, the United Nations human rights committee requested that Canada "take effective measures to avoid irreparable damage to the land." In Japan, the National Christian Council protested the Alberta government's lease of Indian rights in the disputed area to the Tokyo-based Daishowa Paper Manufacturing Co. for a planned pulp mill. And when the Lubicon set up their blockade, the action attracted encouragement from other native organizations and spokespersons from outside groups.

Messages of support came from the Winnipeg-based Métis Council Central Committee Canada, the 400-member federal and provincial wings of the party sent representatives to Little Buffalo—and Western Europe's Green party Herman Verbeek, a Roman Catholic priest from Holland who represents the Green party in the European parliament, visited the barricade and commended the Lubicon's right to that of Mark Sudo Africanus under apartheid. "Only it looks somehow more civil in Canada," Verbeek said. "The situations are basically the same: the blacks in their homelands are with out economic resources, and the Indians are left behind. In Canada should know our people are aware of this tragedy."

Other Canadian Indians rallied to support the Lubicon. In two days last week, Mohawk

Indians at Quebec's Kahnawake reserve, just south of Montreal, landed out 16,000 letters to passing motorists bearing a message of support for the Lubicon. At the Six Nations reserve, 106 km southwest of Toronto, 15 Iroquois band members stopped traffic on a provincial highway leading into nearby Hamilton, Ont., for 17 hours in support of the Lubicon. The emotional governor of the Alberta band's cause was underscored by Daniel McLean, 76, a Cree elder from Sturgeon Lake, Sask. "Canadians will not realize Indians were here first. We didn't ask for trouble. Ottawa did. I just love the Lubicon. I feel—



JOHN BOFFIE

Owasayak: "More than we've been getting."

could lead closer. "Chief Owasayak blames the oil companies for killing moose, but he hunts on oil roads. He wants the best of both worlds—to live like an Indian and have lots of money." Still, Owasayak remains an outwardly modest man. He is soft-spoken and usually clad in worn cowboy boots, blue jeans, a western-style shirt and a Mack baseball cap bearing the name "Lubicon Lake Band." The son of a trapper, Owasayak was born at Lubicon Lake, 345 km northwest of Edmonton. One of seven children, Owasayak dropped out of school in Grade 10 to hunt and trap with his father. Married in 1970, he and his wife, Louise, 36, have four children.

moose or goat, fish poached, country oil full of wells and roads."

Still, the Lubicon barricade posed a challenge to Canadian political authority that clearly outweighed other considerations. Said Indian Affairs Minister William McKnight: "Decisions of sovereignty have precedents [attached] to the decisions of the land incursions. The government of Canada cannot recognize a sovereignty within Canada." And in Edmonton, provincial Attorney General Kenneth Roat added, "We want to make it clear that the laws of the Dominion of Canada and Alberta prevail."

Even the agreement between Getty and Owasayak will not bring an immediate resolution to the Lubicon's troubles. Apart from the need to win federal approval, no settlement will quickly remedy the conditions that have produced decades of illness, unemployment and alcoholism. Still, for Johnny Senasquas, 18, a part-time trapper and Grade 10 student at Little Buffalo who staged a checkpoint for several days last week, the novel demonstration of the limits of Lubicon power had already proven worthwhile. Said Senasquas: "It means we are doing something, not just sitting back." Senasquas added that he was "willing to go all the way" to press his people's claim for land. With luck, however, the rest of the dispute will be twiddled at the bargaining table, not on the barricade.

JOHN BOFFIE is Little Buffalo

In 1978, Owasayak was elected as a band councillor and, two years later, was elected chief.

Until 1980, hunting and trapping provided Owasayak—and most other Lubicon families—with a sparse but adequate living. But that year, the Alberta government pushed provincial Highway 688 through from Peace River to Little Buffalo, with devastating consequences. The new road brought oil company workers, armed with provincial permits, who built access roads, drill sites and the much-maligned shelter area. Becoming the chief, "They bulldozed right through one of my traplines." Last week, Owasayak watched as the scum, with guns and dogs, ordered band members to end a six-day barricade of Highway 688. "The government and the oil developers have destroyed our way of life," he charged. "Pretty soon, we are going to have absolutely nothing." Far before that happens, Owasayak is clearly prepared to throw the full force of his personality into the fight for the preservation of his people.

PAUL KAZIELA with JOHN BOFFIE in Little Buffalo



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CANADA

Verdict on free trade

A retired judge campaigns against the pact

The stack of letters in the living room of the tiny two-storey house on Edmonton's six-lane 85th Avenue grows daily. Sitting in an armchair, retired Alberta law-court judge Margaret Bowker, 72, marvels at the outpouring of support and her antipathy

work as a revised 128-page book with a sale price of \$4.95.

Bowker says that her work has filled a vacuum in the free trade debate despite the profusion of articles, news broadcasts and local election speeches devoted to free trade, she says, many Canadians still do not fully understand the agreement because it is so complex. And Bowker: "My effort fills a void. The federal government spent \$24 million on a promotion of free trade but did not use facts. I was bewildered at the lack of information to the public. At last we have something we can read."



Bowker: government promotion "did not use facts"

Bowker's study, which examines the impact of free trade on several sectors of the Canadian economy, has stirred federal officials. International Trade Minister John Crosbie wrote an angry letter of rebuttal that was published in newspapers across the country. As well, the government's Trade Negotiations Office and conservative political commentators have charged that Bowker's work contains many inaccuracies. Meanwhile, Toronto Star columnist Douglas Fisher has criticized reporters for paying so much attention to Bowker and ignoring other prominent free trade analysts such as William Gearing—an retired Ontario, high school economics teacher who wrote a pro-free-trade book called *Free Trade: Why It's a Good Deal for Canada*.

emerged as one of the main critics of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. In July, Bowker wrote a 58-page layman's guide to the trade deal: *What Will the Free Trade Act Mean to You and Canada?* She is a typewriter at home. She then spent \$1,500 of her own money to make 50 photocopies of the booklet in early August and sent them to federal and provincial politicians and political commentators. Written in simple language, Bowker's treatise denounced the trade deal. Since then, Bowker has appeared on several radio and television shows and attracted the use of free trade bookstores. Last this month, Wynegar Publishing of Hull, Que., will print 20,000 copies of Bowker's

the 1,125-page trade agreement and the government's implementing legislation after coming across a copy of the book in the University of Alberta law library. She spent four weeks analysing what she found and writing her argument. Since she did not have a publisher, Bowker encouraged people who received her study to photocopy it and pass it on to others.

In July, her campaign got its first big boost when Jim Coates, former principal secretary to Pierre Trudeau, wrote a column about her findings in *The Toronto Star*. In response to requests for more information, the newspaper printed 180 copies of Bowker's pamphlet and mailed them out to readers. According to



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CANADA

parking fines, Smith's sentence of 254 days is close; 450 days too long. If that means little, Godman said, the notion that Smith would be eligible for parole is six months.

Smith's troubles began in 1982 when he did not respond to Montreal municipal court summonses as a result of unpaid parking tickets. By the following year, he had received 124 tickets. At the time, Smith was self-employed as a French-English translator, and his brother, Nicolas Film Board producer John M. Smith, said that he often picked downtown to drop all assignments. John Smith, who is leading the fight for his brother's release, said that he did not understand why his brother accumulated so many tickets. "It is mind-boggling," he said. "It's completely beyond me."

In 1984, a warrant was issued for Smith's arrest and he was jailed for a few hours in Montreal's Bordeaux facility. Prison officials told Smith that he could either pay his fines, serve 884 days—two years and five months—in prison or perform community work. Smith chose community work, but several months later, a Bordeaux official filed a form with Montreal municipal court stating that Smith had not completed the work. Godman said last month that his client completed about 45 hours of service but stopped because the community centre closed during Smith's work. And, the lawyer said, Smith was not informed of the Bordeaux official's noncompliance form.

But in July, 1986, a municipal court judge issued warrants for Smith's arrest, specifying that, if arrested, he would serve the 884 days or pay the fines on the 128 tickets. Although the face value of the tickets was originally less than \$3,000, administration and court costs increased the total to \$11,000 by the time the warrant for Smith was issued in 1986. Smith's lawyer said that his client may be able to obtain his release by paying the fines, but additional costs have now increased the amount to \$12,500. So far, friends of Smith's have only been able to raise about \$500 toward that goal.

While many observers said that Smith's sentence was too harsh, a spokesman for Quebec Solicitor General Robert Maro said last week that the province had no control over sentencing and could not transfer Smith to another institution. On the federal level, a spokesman for Solicitor General James Killebrew offered a similar response. Said William Prud'homme, Killebrew's chief of staff, "Once prisoners have been incarcerated, we cannot do anything about it."

As a result, the case led to calls from some editorial writers for judicial reform. Said the Montreal Gazette on Oct. 16: "This case is a disgrace to the Canadian judicial system." As well, the Criminal Justice Association's leaders said that he was writing an editorial critical of Smith's sentencing for the organization's monthly magazine, *Justice Report*. As Smith's supporters fight for his release, his case is now causing unrest in the legal community and throughout the country.

LISA VAN DERSEN in Montreal



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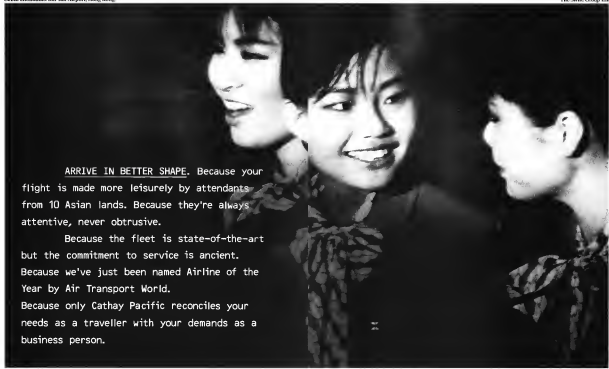
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CANADA



Wendy Zelenka after her victory last week: a heated and unprecedented debate

Healing the wounds

B.C.'s premier wins a vote of confidence

The signs on Highway 97, leading south into Vancouver, B.C., started five kilometers outside of town. "The banking bill," they proclaimed. But no one seemed to be taking notice. For the delegates at last week's B.C. Social Credit party convention in the mountain resort of Whistler, the signs were graphic reminders of the dramatic vote facing the party: the leadership of Premier William Vander Zalm. With rumors that as many as 30 per cent of delegates would not give the premier their vote of confidence, many delegates were clearly expressing an outright disavowal of the Premier's leadership. But during a 35-minute speech to the delegates, the premier acknowledged that he had made mistakes—"the biggest one was failing to recognize some of the problems," he said—and called for the party to unite. Forty minutes after Vander Zalm finished speaking, the delegates followed his advice—giving the premier and his government a confidence vote with a show of hands, 1,080 for to 75 against.

But, it was obvious that despite the victory over the opposition, Vander Zalm would not escape unscathed. A poll given by Toronto-based Goldbach Consultants and released just two days before the convention showed that 58 per cent of the 1,000 British Columbians polled wanted Vander Zalm to step down before the next

provincial election, while 68 per cent of respondents called for a Social Credit leadership convention. The results reflected the bitter criticism of Vander Zalm's approach to government that has been recurring theme of B.C. politics throughout much of 1988. Earlier in the past, the premier's attempts to help his millionaire friend, Vancouver developer Peter Yeung, led for Crown properties, led to controversy over the premier's integrity, honesty and credibility. Among the more vocal Social Credit dissidents, former economic development minister Grace McCarthy and former attorney general Brian Smith publicly attacked the premier's style of government not resigned from Vander Zalm's cabinet during the summer.

During the two weeks before the convention, McCarthy, Smith and at least seven other Social Credit M.L.A.s had called for a secret ballot on the leadership vote, rather than the traditional show of hands. The dissidents argued that delegates could vote freely—and give the party a true assessment of Vander Zalm's leadership—only if they could do so secretly. The premier's opponents, including several cabinet ministers, were not convinced that McCarthy and Smith were personal grudges against the B.C. premier because they were among the long candidates for the premier's leadership when Vander Zalm won at a caucus

convention in July, 1986. But the issue spilled out onto the convention floor last Friday, as delegates engaged in a heated and, for the normally unified Social Credit party, unprecedented debate. Five days later, McCarthy declared later that the premier himself should have insisted on a secret ballot. "Otherwise, our party appears to be ahead of a democratic vote—something we have always stood for and even demanded from labor unions and others," she said. Still, Vander Zalm's opponents such as Donald Phillips, a cabinet minister and former premier William Bennett, claimed that those who were pressing for a secret ballot and challenged them to have the courage to publicly express their opinion of the premier in the end, one-third of the delegates voted for a secret ballot, and supporters of the traditional show of hands prevailed.

It became clear during the convention that the dissidents were not united in an organized bloc and had not developed a clear plan to press their case. But at the same time, the wording of the resolution that the delegates voted on may have inspired many of them. They were called upon not only to vote for the premier, but also for the government. Some may not have been able to bring themselves to vote against the Social Credit administration—despite any misgivings they may have harbored about Vander Zalm's leadership—because they felt that the vote was for the government, not just for the premier. "I must not suggest it," Premier said.

During his speech to the delegates, Vander Zalm criticized those who had openly attacked him. He firmly scolded the members of "our own family of Social Credit for their criticism, protests and calls for reform," and added, "Some in this party are clearly worried—I have to ask why." Now, last week's vote of confidence has clearly given the premier new authority over the party, and although he has another three years remaining in his mandate, he would see election results cry by adding Socialists to unite against Brian Callaghan's official opposition, the New Democrats. Observers say that many of the dissidents may resign from the party in the wake of the convention. But they may intend to try to develop a more organized, stronger voice within the party—and give Brian Callaghan's political leadership, that option seems just as likely.

JOHN PIPER in Vancouver

THE FIGHT OF HIS LIFE

TURNER BATTLES THE PHANTOMS IN HIS PARTY—AND THE GRIM POLLS

The phantoms that have haunted John Turner from within his own party since 1984 simply refuse to be exorcised. Even the onset of another election campaign—once expected to impose a grueling unity on the fractious Liberal ranks—could not sustain the rifts within the party. Last week, bolstered by his weakening support in public opinion polls and by physical distress from a pinched nerve in his lower back, Turner faced yet another leadership crisis. The newest controversy involved reports about four of the most senior members of his election strategy committee and five prominent MPs. And despite their categorical denials that they were plotting against their leader, by the end of last week, it was unclear whether Turner—or his party—could stage a recovery in time for the Nov. 21 election. As it so often does in the era of media politics, the perception had become the reality.

Mishaps: The latest setback, combined with a succession of earlier mishaps, wiped out the positive effects of three weeks of cross-country touring by the Liberal leader. By most accounts, Turner himself has campaigned well—delivering heart-felt speeches against free trade with a confidence that he appeared to lack during 1984 campaign. But in the age of satellite television scrutiny of a political

leader's every step and gesture, candidates are judged not only by their own performances but also by their ability to run smooth, trouble-free campaigns (page 140). In this light, the confusion surrounding the Liberal's policies on prominent issues in child care and abortion have overshadowed Turner's own contribution. This week, the campaign entered its second phase with back-to-back television debates and the launch of the three-part paid TV advertising campaign (page 30). All parties realized the critical importance of the Oct. 24 and 25 encounters. Said one senior Conservative: "The first two commercials are the debates."

Cracks: Still, the immediate challenge facing Liberal last week was to paper over the cracks that have appeared in their campaign's first office. For weeks, senior Liberals have complained privately that the party was being dragged down by Turner's own low approval ratings. And last week, several campaign staffers confided to *Maclean's* that questions were raised about Turner's leadership during an Oct. 13 meeting of four Liberal advisors. Private were campaign co-chairman André Ouellet and Senator Alexander Graham, national campaign director John Webster and strategy committee chairman Senator Michael Kirby. The two discussed ways of repairing the campaign machinery and of counteracting the party's plunge in the polls. Senator Liberal officials told *Maclean's* that the strategists considered the potential impact on the party's fortunes of a sudden change in leadership before voting day, but dismissed the idea as unrealistic.

Subsequent media reports of the meeting prompted widespread speculation of an attempt to force Turner's resignation. "It's a bit of a mess," Turner responded while attending a dinner meeting in Vancouver. The four men at the meeting of the reports issued a press release on Oct. 30 saying that it was "perpetrations" to suggest that they had been plotting against their leader. Still, Kirby did not deny leading Turner a memorandum outlining the strategists' concerns. One of those who saw



Turner in Quebec City last week. Cassidy (left) fractures Liberal ranks

the memo was the party's chief financial officer, Michael Robinson, who described it as "a frank assessment of the state of the campaign," including a list of serious private polling results. Robinson insisted, however, that the memo did not ask Turner to step down. Added another senior Liberal, who asked not to be identified: "To replace the leader you need absolute unanimity, and even then it is implausible. And there sure as hell was not unanimity."

Who: When he returned to Ottawa for a day of rest on Oct. 15, Turner declined to meet the four advisers. Two days later, however, the Liberal campaign suffered a public job when Turner's principal secretary, Peter Connolly,

Mrs. met the leader to discuss the progress of the campaign.

But Connolly, who travels with the Liberal leader on the campaign plane, disagreed. He refused to grant Gray's triple request to see Turner, opened a serious schism between Connolly and other senior Liberals, who have long complained about their limited access to the party leader. Said one influential Liberal in the Ottawa campaign headquarters: "I think the Peter has demonstrated poor judgment," but added that, trying to do something about Connolly now might do more harm to the campaign than "the damage that his dismissal

ment by Turner last week in Reservoir, Que., told *Maclean's* that he did not want his leader to campaign in his Toronto riding. Said Ottawa campaign chairman Norman MacLeod about last week's crisis: "I am going to spend a lot of time talking to candidates to try to settle them down because it is very unsettling."

Despair: A sign of just how low Liberal spirits have sunk was the palpable despair among party workers last week in the Toronto riding of Broadview-Greenwood. Liberal candidate Dennis Mills, influential businessman, has already spent \$100,000 in an attempt to defeat NDP incumbent Lynn McDonald. But when news about the Liberal leadership crisis broke last week, Mills said that he was left too distraught to knock on doors. Instead, Mills and his campaign workers spent five hours drinking coffee and smoking each other cigarettes from former football coach Vincent Lombardi's book *The Green Bay Packers*. Said Mills: "Now we are carrying two barbers, the tough fight locally and the national campaign strategy. It seems that you have to have somebody on standby in the office just to take the daily shock waves."

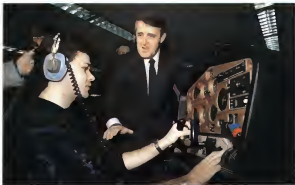
But the Liberals' most severe difficulties are in Quebec. Part of the problem stems from the unpopularity at that province of both Turner and his stand against free trade. And what makes matters much worse for the Liberals is that Turner's Quebec lieutenant, an Raymond Gauthier, continues to wage an open feud with influential Quebec Liberals Francis Fox and Ouellet. Said Pierre Desjar, a former Liberal MP who is running again in the Montreal riding of La Prairie: "If the polls continue the same, no Liberal will see a vote in Quebec."

Clash: Despite that gloomy outlook, some Quebec Liberals said that they were surprised to discover that the leadership issue had resurfaced in mid-campaign. Said Desjar: "It is absolutely unthinkable and unacceptable that we would stage incidents such as someone conducting a distribution campaign from within the top levels of the party." Indeed, that accusation set many Liberals scrambling to uncover the source of the most recent rumblings of discontent over Turner's leadership. Said Kirby, whose own performance has drawn criticism from some Turner loyalists: "Everyone is looking for a scapegoat."

The question on the minds of many Liberals was whether their traditional supporters would still be willing to vote for a party so obviously at war with itself. And some Liberals who are looking beyond the Nov. 30 vote predicted that the winds shifted over the past few years—and responded last week—would not help easily. Said Toronto political consultant David MacIntyre: "After this election, there will be no love lost by Liberals attempting to rebuild the party for those who choose to dump on the leader—or on each other."

BRUCE WALLACE AND ROSE-LAWER with THERESA TEDESCO in Ottawa and MARY JAMNICK and LISA HUN DUKE in Montreal





Maloney visiting Georgian College flight simulator, sticking to his scripts and avoiding most impromptu encounters

THE NEW TRICKS IN AN OLD TRADE

GETTING ON TV IS THE REAL ISSUE



Media events, photo opportunities, and 15-second sound bites—the jargon and techniques of the modern political campaign—are now so specialized that they can easily bewilder the average voter. Little more than a generation ago, politics was a much simpler art. In the 1968 election, then-Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker launched the Conservative campaign by gathering together his senior advisers in Ottawa. Diefenbaker asked his aides what he should do, then answered his own question: “I want to see the people. I’m going to get on a train.” The “Tory leader whistle-stop” has wended across the country, visiting 196 cities, towns and villages. Respected Thomas Van Donkelaar, then Diefenbaker’s

executive assistant: “He had experts fiddling all over themselves to give advice, but I don’t remember any attention to them. Maybe he should have.” Indeed, the Conservatives lost that election to the Liberals, although they managed to hold the Goss to a minority and deny Liberal Leader Lester Pearson the majority he had demanded from the electorate.

Impact: Times have changed, and so has the political process. In 1988, no politician could even hope to become prime minister without a high-powered team of pollsters, television consultants and media handlers—and the multi-million-dollar budget to pay them. Using the latest techniques of marketing, their task is to shape voters’ perceptions of the candidate and tailor his or her message to the prevailing national mood. Aided out against a backdrop of

political debates and sophisticated media advertising campaigns, even the leaders’ tours have been reduced to a repetitive series of tightly scripted events planned and executed for maximum impact on the nightly television news programs. “It may not be good for politics, but television is the focus of the campaign,” said Raymond Board, a former executive with Ontario’s Global TV network who is now communications director for the Liberal leader.

John Turner: “What we are looking for is the 15-second clip, something that is coherent and attractive in a way that stimulates the voter to support our party.”

Point: Last week, as they circumnavigated the country in search of votes on Nov. 20, all three party leaders demonstrated an acute awareness of the need to play to the television camera. Perhaps nothing underscored the concern for campaign imagery better than the fact that on the same day last week, both Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Liberal Leader John Turner took their entourage to McDonald’s hamburger outlets—Mulroney in Oakville, Ont.; Turner in Vancouver—and posed as yellow aprons while selling fast food to aid of Ronald McDonald House and other charities. New Brunswick Leader Ed Broadbent,



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otherwise, tried to draw attention to his party's northern policies by staging a photo opportunity of a wood-burning day care centre in Willowdale. Later, while Broadbent was posing for the cameras outside the facility, NDP aide Robert Mearns grabbed a reporter who was standing behind the politician and pulled him away—the journalist, he explained, was running the shot.

Debate: By the weekend, the three leaders had returned to Ottawa to prepare for what would certainly prove to be the two most important events in the campaign: the three-hour televised debates in French and English on Monday and Tuesday of this week. The stakes for all three were high, because even a minor blunder can sometimes be magnified by the power of television into a costly and

chance. Their preparations included being up so-called spin doctors—well-placed party officials who will go into action once the debates end to try to influence media assessments of the outcome, especially the key verdict of who won the winner.

The increased emphasis on controlling the message of the three-party leaders leaves little room for spontaneity. Mulroney, enjoying a comfortable lead in the opinion polls, has been waging a classic, front-runner's campaign, sticking to his scripts and avoiding most impromptu encounters with voters. Broadbent's campaign is also tightly structured, suggesting that his strategists do not want him to do or say anything that might cost the NDP support among middle-class voters.

Only Turner, whose party has slipped to

second the parties to test voters' reactions to their leaders and to a wide range of issues. Using that information, each party set about trying to steady the public mood with a couple, rarely understood message.

Style: The Tories won the 1984 election by appealing to the public's desire for change in the role of government after almost 18 years of Liberal rule under Pierre Trudeau. Now they are campaigning on their economic record and the prosperity that they say will result from the government's Canada-U.S. free trade deal. Conservative strategists clearly hope that the country's booming economy will convince voters that their party is the best qualified to manage economic change in the future. The Liberals, on the other hand, close to campaign against the trade agreement, attempting to



Broadbent at Yukon crafts co-operative: concerns about saying things that would cost support among the middle class.

unrecoverable error. Turner stumbled over a passage during a televised debate in 1984. His exchange with Mulroney was replayed dozens of times in subsequent newscasts and a selected serious damage on the Liberals as that election. Last week, the Liberals tested a television studio in Ottawa to let Turner rehearse in mock debates, with fellow Liberals playing the parts of the other leaders.

Spin: Mulroney and Broadbent, who are generally rated as better television performers than Turner, practised their lines and delivery in question-and-answer sessions with news aides. Late actors rehearsing for an overnight performance, each of the leaders was determined to leave as little as possible to

third place in several recent surveys, winning a relatively open-style campaign. Perhaps because his advisers think that he has little to lose—recent exit polls showed that only 10 per cent of decided voters thought that Turner would make the best prime minister, compared with 28 per cent for Broadbent and 37 per cent for Mulroney—the Liberal leader has been appearing on open-line radio programs and making speeches before contentious audiences, events that are extremely difficult to predict or control.

Despite these differences in campaign style, strategists for all three parties are adept at manipulating the media. Long before the campaign began, sophisticated market research

align the party with a particular politician, naming voters and undermine confidence in Mulroney's ability to defend Canadian interests. Although the NDP also opposes the trade deal, its campaign planners decided to emphasize "harmony," playing down the party's ideological differences with the Liberals and the Tories in order to appeal to as wide a cross-section of voters as possible.

Still, if past experience is a guide, the fortunes of all three parties may turn on the lead of single each of their leaders' prospects. Indeed, an analysis of the 1984 election by Allan Friesell and Arthur M. Weis of Carleton University's school of journalism in Ottawa suggested that the Tories did well in that campaign in part

THE PARTIES CONCOCT THE 'LINE' IN ORDER TO GET THE 'SOUND BITE'

because they did not get, broad-based political support. Instead, the Conservative strategy appeared to have been to deflect attention away from specific policy differences between themselves and the other parties in order to avoid alienating voters. As a result, says Prasad and Westell, many voters appeared to have against the Liberals in 1984, not because they viewed Turner as a less attractive candidate than Mulroney. When the campaign began, 31 per cent of those surveyed said that Turner had the most likable personality, while only 25 per cent liked Mulroney the best. But toward the end of the campaign, Mulroney's "likability" rating soared to 40 per cent, while Turner's slid to 18 per cent.

Switch: In the current campaign, many political observers say that the image factor is likely to play an equally decisive role. The reserve, said political scientist Walter Soderstrom of the University of Waterloo, is that all three parties are attempting to pursue uncommitted voters—the so-called waverers, who, by changing party allegiance from one election to the next, determine the outcome of elections. By deflating waverers' doubt identity with any one party and they are not strongly influenced by ideology. As a result, they look to the leaders—so, more personality. In the image of the leaders portrayed in the media—as a guide in making their choice. Said Soderstrom: "It is a sad commentary on the political system, because public personas are what sell the leaders—and ultimately the parties—to the voters."

According to experts, the dominance of television in political campaigns has exaggerated the importance of leaders' images. The reason, they say, is that even a depth television coverage of election campaigns leaves viewers with a personal impression of candidates' personas compared with political reporting in newspapers and magazines. But other observers say that the electronic media is to blame, not the medium of television. Said political scientist Frederick J. Fletcher of Toronto's York University: "It's not that it is reasonable to fault the media for failing to deal with the issues, because even when the information is presented, most people do not remember it."

But John Meisel, former chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, has described TV as a "major factor in the so-called presidentialization of Canadian politics." Said Meisel: "The whole political process has become a form of televisionized sport. I do not think you can make sense—of the status of our society that we are more concerned with appearance than substance."

The image of candidates that is conveyed by



Oliver doing 'stand-up' in Brampton. Our images of Reagan's 'Morning in America' campaign

television does not always correspond with the impression they leave in person. Of the three party leaders, Turner is perhaps the most poorly suited for the television age. On the campaign trail, many people who have attended Turner's speeches have afterward told reporters that they are impressed by the Liberal leader's personality, delivery and ability to communicate deeply felt concerns about the impact of free trade on Canadian sovereignty. But the same individuals often say that Turner appears stiff and tense on television. "He comes across as a better person when you see him in the flesh," said Kevin Kelly, 36, a truck driver who says he lives in his party's headquarters. Said Patricia Adams, an independent consultant with Toronto-based Tri-Com Communications: "Mul-

roy really looks good in television close-ups. He seems to be coming because he is intense," said an aide who is currently traveling with the Liberal leader. "Unfortunately, on the screen the same qualities make him look nervous and slightly fearful. He has to stop playing to the crowd. Those days, the only substance that counts is the television camera."

Style: In contrast, both Mulroney and Broadbent have learned to modify their voices and body language in an effort to appear more soothing on television. For his part, Toronto media consultant Agnes Gabor said that Broadbent's performance during Question Period at the House of Commons went to make the first leader seem harsh and aloof. But now as the campaign trail, and Gabor, Broadbent's "style" is now a goal and he is more relaxed. "It's almost

easy in some ways to pick out that you could turn him around and expect to see a lot of compliments printed on his back."

But controlling a leader's image is only one element in a broader effort to shape public opinion. The ability to orchestrate events to produce attractive visual backdrops for the nightly news—campaign tactics called "creative" or "novelty events"—is equally important. To underscore the Conservative message (free trade will bring prosperity, for instance, Mulroney toured the Georgian College of Applied Arts in Barrie, Ont., last week where students were studying automotive marketing. With his wife, Milla, by his side, Mulroney watched past displays of high-tech machinery and then sat in a round conversation with a handful of selected students. Later, during a luncheon address to the local chamber of commerce, Mulroney delivered a verbal punch to accompany the evening's picture: the Canadian automotive industry, he said, "knows that a car competes under free trade."

Big: The Liberal and Star campaigns are also structured with the demands of television image-making in mind. NDP deputy campaign director Robin Sears, for one, described effective television, not a party's platform, as "overwhelmingly" the key to success in the campaign. To that end, during a typical day on the campaign, Broadbent rarely meets many of the ordinary Canadians who appear on the party's television ads. Almost all of the party's events are set-piece speeches before partisan crowds, or press conferences strictly for the news media. "I make no apology for that," said Julie Mason, the party's media campaign director. "In the old days, a politician stood at the back of a train and delivered his speech. Now we go right into people's living rooms."

To some extent, television has even rendered large campaign rallies unnecessary. Said Turner aide Patrick Gossage: "It used to be that the aim was to draw 1,000 people out to hear the candidate. Now the crowds are almost accidental, except as props for television."

As indispensable to the modern campaign is the process event in the so-called sound bite—a succinct, pithy phrase that encapsulates the candidate's views on a particular subject in 15 or 20 seconds. For the Liberals, Senator Michael Kirby chose an early morning campaign address at the party's Ottawa headquarters that, among other things, a responsible for connecting the "line" that Turner will use later in the day. The day's line is broadcasted automatically to a terminal in Turner's

campaign secret, where aides study it and suggest possible alternatives.

So far, one of the most successful examples of the Liberal's sound-bite success was Turner's tactic that Mulroney should "come out of his cage and meet the Canadian people"—a swipe at the Tory leader's highly scripted campaign. "The line was chosen,"



Turner aide Robert Scott's fears (below): downplaying the platform

and heard "Turner's communications director." With a lot of voters, the only thing they know about the campaign is what they get from that 15-second clip."

Sag: For their part, many television pundits insist that they are not overly influenced



by campaign planners' attempts to manipulate news coverage. But often the most crucial moments by the parties—not to mention the script itself—like—was hard to pass up. CTV Ottawa bureau chief Greg Oliver, for one, said that the Prime Minister's tour reminds him of

Donald Reagan's successful 1964 re-election campaign, which combined emotional images of small-town life with the slogan, "Morning in America." Said Oliver: "Reagan's campaign was thematic rather than specific. You can see the same thing in Mulroney's campaign—the message is archetypal and optimistic. They give you pictures that they know the networks will find irresistible."

Tool: In the future, says the act of political packaging will likely become even more sophisticated and sophisticated. The latest tool, which is currently being used by campaign tacticians at the U.S. presidential election, is a hand-held "approval meter." Such instruments are distributed to audience members before a speech or debate, enabling them to register their feelings by hitting an electronic arrow to the left when they approve of something the candidate has said, and to the right when they disapprove. The politician's advisers can plot audience reaction on a minute-by-minute basis. And in a development that, says Oliver, is the result of the 1992 presidential campaign and even the next Canadian election, the technology will be refined to the point of having electrodes attached to the face of individuals to register their feelings to a candidate as well.

To some political critics, that may seem like a laudable application of scientific methods to the democratic process. But critics of those techniques say that as political campaigning becomes increasingly sophisticated, the parties and politicians begin to sound even more alike and the voters' choice an election day becomes ever more illusory. They argue that political leaders will be selected primarily for their skills as television performers, rather than for their record, integrity and intellect. Said one Liberal strategist: "It is not really a serious political process anymore. In that kind of debate, the best person is to prove himself as a television performer. It's like a delivery the best performer." Added Rick's Fletcher: "The moment a campaign becomes solely an exercise in political marketing, debate about the future of the country drops right out of the process." As undeniable as that trend seems, many agree a time when the idea of personal contact between politicians and voters seems as quaint as the whistle-stop tour.

OLIVER AND SCOTT WITH TURNER (THIS PAGE) AND BROADBENT AND MULRONEY (THIS PAGE) WITH JARVIS, JARVIS, MACKENZIE AND BRUCE WALLACE on the leaders' faces

PRIME TIME FOR A BLITZ OF ADS

COMMERCIALS, NOT POLICY, PREVAIL



The rain-drenched yellow building is an unimpressive industrial area of Vancouver's inner city. The building is a makeshift studio for a video studio. But inside the two-story, modern black structure, the bright television lights blazed as Stanley Olson, a commercial director with Michael Morgan Communications, consulted with actors

precisely how much they are spending on media advertising: some reports put the total at more than the \$3.2 million that they spent in the 1984 campaign—compared with about \$3 million each for the Liberals and the NDP last year. But opinions for all three parties agree that it will be money well spent because the commercials take their messages directly to the Canadian people.



Broadbeat with director Olson on the set last week: "We just evolved," said the actress

Images: Under the Canada Elections Act, political advertising can take place only during the last four weeks of a federal election campaign. In the current campaign, the act's complicated formula for allocating time and advertising time—based partially on political standings and the number of seats being contested—gives the majority Tories a distinct advantage over the Liberals and the NDP. In fact, the Conservatives—who held 207 of the 282 Canadian seats at dissolution—were allocated 180 minutes of paid air time compared with 89 for the Liberals and 67 for the NDP. And although Tory sources declined to say

for the Conservatives' ad campaign, a production crew treated the first three weeks of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's electoral campaign as a rehearsal set and cautiously shot Mulroney campaigning. From their footage, Tory strategists drew images to be featured in some of the approximately 12 ads that the Tories plan to run. Those commercials are intended to reinforce the public's impression of Mulroney as a statesmanlike prime minister and underline the Conservative message of prosperity and competence. The focus is similar to the one the party used during the second half of the 1984 campaign—where it became clear that it would win a massive majority

Indeed, since Tory ads will contain desirable media moments of the government. In one, featuring a series of still photos of the Prime Minister, the announcer lists pro-Mulroney reviews, among them: "The Kingston *Wing* Standard calls him a national leader of purpose and courage." In another, the announcer proclaims, "Our country has taken the biggest single step in its history toward determining its own economic future, said the *Edmonton Star*." Said Harry New, director of communications for the Tory campaign: "They are very positive, very upbeat." And that message, added media analyst Derrick de Kretschmer, is precisely what the Conservatives need to win. "Mulroney does not have to do anything," de Kretschmer said, except evoke "expressions of confidence, power—and money, money, money."

Swift: The Tory's English-language campaign was created by Thomas Scott, chairman of Toronto's Silverworld Capital Inc. In Quebec, Tory ads will concentrate a little more on the

Anyone can ride a bull,

Investors for the most part tend to be reluctant to get involved with a bear. But at Nesbitt Thomson, we see it differently.

We get back on the floor.

That's because we believe there is opportunity in any market. All it requires is a different approach.

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That means you have to determine when the larger cycle will move. And prepare accordingly.

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being seduced by every short term swing in the market.

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the one thing that will consistently extract *true* value. And it is the one thing that we consistently practise at Nesbitt Thomson.

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to dance with a bear.

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How money is really made.

AND NOW, THE NEWS

THE GAFFE IS OFTEN WHAT VIEWERS SEE



It was the only significant stumble in an otherwise stellar performance. Speaking to an attentive—if somewhat restrained—audience consisting mostly of Toronto-area business people at the Liberal party's Confederation Dinner on Oct. 12, John Turner delivered a passionate denunciation of the Can-

ada-U.S. free trade agreement. But as he was pumped to emphasize the carefully lined attack on Brian Mulroney's trade deal, the co-sponsor of Turner's speech left him tongue-tied. When he accused the Prime Minister of selling out Canada's "ideology," Turner's body convulsed as he struggled briefly to master the syllables. The gaffe occupied barely three seconds of a 45-minute speech—but it

was what viewers of *CBC's The National* saw that night when they watched the report on Turner's day of campaigning.

Slip: The discourse by the CBC to dwell on Turner's one slip seemed to distract the most widespread criticism levelled at television news—that strict time constraints and a preoccupation with visually compelling images produce superficial and sometimes misleading reports. In an age when the television sound bite has replaced the whole-stop as the crucial component of election campaigning, the charge raises doubts about whether viewers can depend on the medium to provide fair and balanced information on which to base a voting decision. Network executives respond that they are constantly seeking new approaches to campaign coverage—while they examine their daily broadcast decisions with an eye to separating news from manipulation. "We don't base our news decisions on the beauty of the pictures," observed Eric Morrison, producer of *CBC's National News*. "It's all tied to content."

Media analysts say that tech self-censorship by the people who control television's image of the campaigning leaders is now more important than ever. A 1984 study showed that 83 per cent of Canadians depend on television as their main source of news. Because of its power to reach millions of voters, television has displaced newspapers in determining the agenda of political campaigns, whose events are increasingly tailored to cater to the small screen's thirst for television pictures of the party leaders. Said John Foughlton, producer of *CBC's evening Edmonton's Newday*: "The politicians believe that it does not matter what television reporters say about you, as long as your face gets on the evening news."

Wink: Aware that an line is crossed by campaign coverage, television executives say that they avoid the risk of political manipulation by constantly questioning the newsworthiness of what is broadcast. With such questions in mind, producers at the CBC were divided over the merits of putting Turner's verbal stumble on *The National*. Reporter Keith Bang had introduced the story by describing the event as Turner's best speech of the campaign so far. Said executive producer David Mazy: "Since the story said Turner gave a good speech, I would have liked to have seen more of him speaking." But other CBC producers defended the choice. Said Mark Sulgatch, producer for *The National's* election news reports: "Turner's body language showed passion. That is why we showed that part of



Griffith and John Turner in Arbeston, Que.: a chance for television pictures

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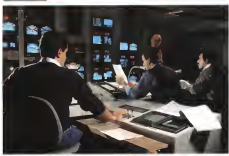
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COVER



Control room at The National's Boney (below): coexistence of the need for background items

the speech. "We were not poking fun at him."

As well, CBC executives said that they have encouraged their journalists to use the closing statements of their campaign reports to analyze what the politicians are doing. Said Boney: "No TV news report should end with a taped statement of where the politician will be tomorrow. Our reporters should be telling the viewer about the significance of what he has just said."

The networks also deflect criticism of their coverage by pointing out that they are supplementing campaign reports with background stories that analyze the campaign's major issues and strategies. The National assigned its chief political correspondent, David Mulroney, to investigate such subjects as the dilemma when the three parties use economic statistics. CTV executives, meanwhile, point out that they are supplementing their general news coverage with more in-depth current events programming, including regular panels and interviews on Canada AM. Even so, observed CTV's Morrison, television clearly has its limitations. "We hope that people will get their election news from other sources as well," he said.

Critics: The smaller networks, however, can limit the coverage of those cross-country campaigns—and sometimes dictate when will appear on the air. Executives at Toronto-based Global Television Network, for one, estimate that it will use \$350,000 to keep its reporters and crews of cameras and sound technicians on the election trail—over though Global reporters did not travel with the party leaders for one week of the seven-week campaign. In the statements of forcing close money for the campaign, Global has also decided not to start coverage on election night until the end of a scheduled hockey telecast—about 10:15 p.m. on October 19. In fact, CBC and CTV will have less

on the air with election coverage for more than two hours, instead, if pre-election polls of party standings prove to be accurate, the voter's outcome may be known well before Global's coverage begins. Meanwhile, at Montreal-based TMI-Métropole, Canada's largest private French-language network, reporters are traveling with the three leaders only in the campaign's final four weeks for cost reasons. Still, the financial commitment involved in covering the leaders' tours—at \$12,000 to \$15,000 per seat for the full 22-day campaign—tends to encourage use of reports from each of the three each night. Said Global's Ottawa bureau chief, Douglas Small: "Our sources dictate that if we have pictures of the leaders, we will do a story."



ability to report the campaign—not to impose their own views of how those campaigns should be run. Said Boney: "Staged events are the reality of modern political campaigns. If the Prime Minister is not accessible to the media, we have to go to the nearest telephone to realize that he is being evasive."

At the same time, new technology is making television reporting more immediate. Said Global's Small: "In the days when we used film, it took a long time to have it processed before it could be broadcast. Now we send tapes by satellite or even phone lines from almost anywhere in the country, and TV reporters can do one report for the 6 o'clock news and another for the late show." Small predicts that television reporters could cover the next election campaign almost hour by hour, in the same way that radio does now.

Bias: More frequent broadcasts may not diminish television's susceptibility to manipulation by savvy campaign managers. In Olive Gershon's book *Following the Leaders*, about the reporters who covered the 1979 federal election, she illustrates how reporter Nigel Gibson is quoted accusing television reporters of being "the darlings of the campaign, and acting like it." But now Gibson works as a senior producer at The National—and he says that TV reporters are also, to an extent, hostages of their own medium. Said Gibson last week: "The single photo opportunities and the attempts by political leaders to manipulate what we put on the air remains the greatest single problem we face in TV." The subtle dual between television reporters and campaign strategists is an enduring feature of the modern campaign—even if it takes place away from the camera's hungry eye.

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

Some People Would Suggest The Pen Is Even More Persuasive Than The Rebate.

"Life isn't getting any easier for the many
millions of this car."

CAR AND DRIVER MAGAZINE

"At this time, there is not one North American
car capable of competing with this charming
compact."

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"Arguably one of the finest all-round
automobiles in the world."

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asked what model they would pick when
they went shopping for their next car.

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TELEVISION DIPLOMACY

KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN TRIES TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE ISRAELI ELECTION

When Jordan's King Hussein announced three months ago that he was relinquishing responsibility for the occupied West Bank, he created a major problem for Shimon Peres, the Israeli foreign minister and Labor Party leader. Peres's policy for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem had long centered on the so-called Jordanian-Palestinian option—and that option apparently no longer existed. As a result, as the campaign unfolded in Israel's Nov. 13 general election, Peres's principal opponent, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his right-wing Likud bloc, had powerful assistance. There was no one to negotiate with, argued the Likud. But last Thursday night, that situation changed dramatically when Hussein—as an extraordinary display of diplomacy by television—declared that he was once again willing to play a role in the West Bank. Two, two days later, the drama heightened when Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and PLO leader Yasser Arafat flew to Jordan for talks with Hussein.

The flurry of Arab diplomatic activity, clearly aimed at influencing the outcome of Israel's Nov. 13 general election, began when Shamir, appearing on an NBC's influential *Nightline* program, endorsed Peres's plan for an international Middle East peace conference. The king added that, if asked to do so by the Palestinian leadership, he was prepared to bring a joint Palestinian-Jordanian negotiating team to the bargaining table. "We are ready to help in any way we can," he said. Hussein made no attempt to hide his hope that his intervention

would help Peres and his Labor Party defeat Shamir. A victory for the Likud would be "an absolute disaster" for the entire region, said the king.

In fact, it was clear that Hussein's TV appearance had been orchestrated by Peres himself in an attempt to persuade undecided Israeli voters that his peace plan—the main plank of his election platform—had a real chance of success. But that raised the possibility of a backlash by Israeli voters angry that Peres had invited foreign intervention in the campaign. The move may have been worthwhile.

"There might be some backlash," said Jim McFadden, president of Canada's Decima Research organization, which has been advising Peres on campaign strategies. "But I think the



possibility of gun is much more significant."

The Hussein initiative coincided with heightened tension on Israel's northern border. The day that the king endorsed his approach with *Nightline*'s Ted Koppel, a suicide car-bomber

of the pro-fundamentalist Jewish group Irgun ayd killed and wounded Israeli soldiers in southern Lebanon. Striking back, Israel's Likud-Labor coalition government sent its warplanes to bomb Hezbollah and PLO bases in southern Lebanon—killing some people and wounding 21 Lebanese.

In the West Bank and Gaza, there was continuing violence as Israeli troops battled Palestinian rioters and the death toll in the 10-month-old intifada, or uprising, rose to at least 380 Palestinians and six Israelis.

The intifada had provided the Israeli election campaign with its central issue: whether the Jewish state should relinquish control over the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank in return for peace. Hussein's intervention—and his weekend talks with Arafat and Mubarak—

has now put the issue once again deeper focus. The interview was a result of intense secret contacts between Peres's aides and officials on the one hand and the Jordanian court on the other. Peres has maintained discreet con-



Car-bombing aftermath last week in south Lebanon, Hussein (below) calls for Middle East peace talks

tacts with the king since they met secretly in London in April, 1987, and agreed on the desirability of an international conference involving the United States and the Soviet Union as well as interested Middle East parties. Shamir—Peres's sworn coalition partner on Israel's so-called government of national unity—agreed to attend the conference plan. He says that Israel should hold on to all the occupied territory, while giving the Palestinians limited local autonomy.

According to sources at ABC-TV headquarters in New York City, the network was initially cautious about becoming a platform for Middle East diplomacy—and a potential factor in the Israeli election. But a precedent had been set in 1977, when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat threatened his dramatic peace initiative by telling Old Time Radio's *Frank Conroy*, on the air, that he was ready to go to Jerusalem.

Peres appeared on the same *Nightline* program as Hussein last Thursday. Interviewed separately in Jerusalem, the Labor leader reiterated his intention, if elected, to gradually ease an international conference. When the media in the occupied territories and Israel's Press, the Palestinians could elect their own delegates to the peace talks. He estimated

that the delegates could include PLO supporters, although he opposed to rule out the PLO itself as "the incumbent" to make a credible negotiating partner. But Hussein's involvement, added Peres, was "essential."

In his appearance, from Amman, Hussein said that he found the Peres proposal "very encouraging" and "a step forward." He added, "If the Palestinians seek it and we as negotiators, we are prepared to go to the conference in a joint delegation." He reiterated the standard ABC formulation that "the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people"—but added the words "no things now stand." Said Hussein: "There is a very strong possibility of high-level contact with the PLO in the next few days." That contact took place when Arafat flew to Amman with Mubarak.

The PLO has been torn by discord since the end of July, when Hussein severed legal and administrative links with the West Bank State. Since then, the various PLO factions have been arguing over how to respond to Hussein's decision and capitalism on the intifada. (Description under construction was to declare an independent Palestinian

in the occupied territories and in a report a 1997 or perhaps plan creating two states—one Arab, one Jewish—out of the formerly British-ruled Palestine mandate. That would at least imply recognition of Israel's right to exist. A planned meeting of the Palestine National Council—the PLO's parliament—was repeatedly postponed while the leadership sought consensus.

During his television interview, Hussein appeared nervous, obviously nervous not to seem to be denigrating the PLO as the original architect of the Palestinian state. But Koppel asked him for his reaction to a possible election victory for the hardline Shamir. The king was much more lucid. "If [Shamir's policies] are what he has consistently suggested they would be, then—absolute disaster. I cannot begin to imagine what the civil results will be."

Like his reaction was well-learned. Said Shamir: "I wish to express my regret and dismay over the attempt to drag foreign forces into the election campaign. The result will be determined by the people of Israel and not by my foreign interference." And in an apparent attempt to characterize Peres as a puppet, he added, "This is a premeditated event and a sign of lack of national pride." For their part,

World Notes

YUGOSLAVIAN CRISIS

Amid other secret and economic chaos in Yugoslavia, the Communist party's Central Committee staged a show of an expected party of party members at a special meeting. But the committee voted no-confidence in Dušan Čolaković, a Politburo member from the Republic of Serbia. He is closely identified with Serbia's party chief Slobodan Milosevic, who advocates Serbian control of Kosovo, a predominantly Albanian province within Serbia.

NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION

U.S. indications destroyed 41 ground-based cruise missiles in America, the first of 143 cruise missiles to be eliminated under the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty signed in December by Washington and Moscow. The two superpowers have three years to destroy a total of 2,692 missiles with ranges between 500 and 3,400 miles.

PROBABLE SABOTAGE

A Philippine investigation team concluded that "a criminal act or sabotage"—and not mechanical failure—probably caused the Aug. 17 plane crash that killed President Marcos and 115 U.S. Ambassador Arnold Koppel and 23 others.

A MILITARY ACCORD

The United States and the Philippines signed an agreement allowing two key U.S. military bases in the Asian country to remain open until 1991 in exchange for \$1.8 billion in aid.

DISASTERS IN INDIA

In the west India city of Ahmedabad, 330 people died when an Indian Airlines jet crashed late in a hotel. Few people survived. Two hours later, a plane belonging to India's second domestic airline, Vigyan, crashed in the northeastern state of Assam, killing all 34 people on board.

BALEIC POLITICS

The Communist party leader of Soviet Lebanon resigned on the eve of the founding congress of the Lebanese Movement for Progress, a grassroots group calling for more democracy in the once-independent Baileic republic.

ARGENTINIAN ELECTIONS

President Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina announced presidential elections for next May. Alfonsín, elected in 1983, will not run for re-election. Because military governments have dominated the country's history, the last time an elected Argentine president had to serve to an elected successor was in 1928.

officials in the Parris camp considered that the initiative might be overdone. But, said former ministry spokesman Alan Laif, "it was an important move to explain to the Israeli public that the international peace conference and the territory-for-peace formula are realistic ideas."

Deanna's McKinnon, back at his base in Toronto before returning to Israel for the last leg of the campaign, drew similar conclusions. Said McKinnon, "It should help to convince the

Whom? Its impact, the Hamas situation—and the rapid response by Ariel and Mofaz—can also have new factors into an election campaign that was otherwise deflected. Deanna's latest poll, published last Friday in the mass-circulation Israeli daily *Haaretz*, showed that Labor would win 42 seats in the 120-seat Knesset (parliament). Three center and left-wing parties combined likely to join Labor in a coalition were expected to win another 12 seats between them, leaving a

they might be willing to play the role of peace partners, supporting a minority Labor government on issues they agreed with and abstaining on those they did not.

Another possible outcome was that Labor and Likud might once again form a coalition government, as they often did in the 1980s and 1990s. One government formally who clearly anticipated that outcome was President Chaim Herzog. During a state visit to France last week, he pointed out in a newspaper interview how strongly the current situation resembled that of 1984, when he persuaded the two rival parties to join forces. Said Herzog: "I am not disappointed with the result." But, according to many analysts, the difference between the parties is now so fundamental that a grand coalition is no longer possible.

In the campaign debate over the security of Israel's borders, an array of related generals—as well-known and popular to Israelis as rock stars and hockey players—are in contention—have been playing starring roles. In a TV commercial for Likud, former senior general Ben Pelevi is seen in a ground-hugging helicopter that suddenly veers and spins wildly. Turning to the camera from the pilot's seat, the rapid Pelevi says, "Before 1967 when Israel occupied the West Bank, I had to turn my Mirage jet this way, just seconds after takeoff to avoid enemy territory." In a Labor commercial, ex-general Avigdor Ben-Gal, a reinforced tank commander, also appears as a

helicopter. Hovering over the West Bank Arab city of Nablus, Ben-Gal says that Israel cannot remove a Jewish state if it keeps 3.5 million Israeli Palestinians under its control. Many demographers predict that by early next century, the combined Arab population of Israel and the occupied territories will outnumber the country's 4.4 million Jews.

Well before last week's TV appearances, the majority of Israelis had clearly made up their minds on the issue of territory for peace. The Parris-Hamas initiative appeared designed not so much to change minds as to win over the small number of individuals who could tip the scales in Likud's favor. But it was a high-risk decision—one that could have exactly the opposite effect.

JOHN BRENNAN with DUC PLATON in Jerusalem and BZL CLAN LOWMYER in Washington

Shamer campaigning in Jerusalem: insisting on Israel's right to hold occupied territory

electorate that the moderates in the Arab world will deal with a Labor government, and that there is no way of having a peace conference at which a moderate Arab presence would be demanded." McKinnon added that his organization had not proposed the initiative to Parris, although "we were aware that a number of options were in the wind." Still, it was in keeping with the kind of advice that Deanna has been giving Parris to try to set the campaign agenda and avoid a strictly reactive posture. In Washington, some analysts claimed that the Parris-Hamas initiative may have little effect on the region or the election. "I doubt if the overall event is significant," said William Quandt, director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution. "The election is going to focus on different issues, not on what King Hussein says. The king had to say something new. He has always made it clear his position is in line with Parris." Said Joyce Starr, director of the Near East studies program at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies: "The whole event is worth maybe one evening of air in Israel—and then it will be gone." But she added: "They [meeting of city may change a few thousand votes. We never knew what a going to affect people in Israel."

Likud-led coalition seven seats short of a majority. Those extra seats would have to come from the small religious parties, which Deanna forecast would probably win 10 seats. But many analysts said that Labor was likely to get the support of only three of these, making a total of 57 seats for a Labor-led coalition.

For Likud, the outside seemed exactly the same. Deanna forecast that it would win 39 seats. Its potential coalition partners on the right would pick up another, the survey indicated, and its potential partners among the religious parties would provide up to an additional one. That would also make a total of 57 seats. As a result, the three left-wing Arab parties, with a forecast total of new seats, could hold the balance. One possibility, analysts say, was that while the Arab parties were unlikely to join Labor in a coalition,



Parris a political risk



THE UNITED STATES

A dictator on trial

Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos face the law

Many enemies of Ferdinand Marcos during his tenure as Philippine president, claimed that he coerced his money-the-fueled way by stealing it. Officials in Manila charged that during his 20 years in power, he plundered up to \$12 billion from his private-citizens' treasury. Measured against norms of that magnitude, the amount that he and his wife, Imelda, 56, were accused of stealing—in a New York federal grand jury indictment handed down last Friday—was modest. \$123 million. \$60, larger amounts were cited in the massive indictments that crossed a 21-year investigation led by Manhattan federal attorney Rudolph Giuliani. They included racketeering that enabled the Marcoses to amass \$322 million and bank funds totaling \$295 million. It charged that the Marcoses were eight associates, including Sergio Aronson, arms dealer Adam Klachug, once known as one of the world's richest men. Said a spokesman for Giuliani: "We are in awe of the indictments. 'No one is above the law.'"

During their years in power—1965-1986—and Giuliani, the Marcoses accumulated millions through embezzlement, theft, bribes and kickbacks, then illegally moved "massive amounts" into the United States. There, he said, they invested much of it in real estate, winning office buildings in New York, Manhattan districts and co-opting the ownership through false documents. Even after they fled to America, including Corina Aguirre, the so-called people's power association, they allegedly continued their illegal activities. Many of the Marcoses could have only the confiscation of properties but, still sentences of up to 20 years each on the racketeering charge.

They might have avoided indictment—and a public trial—if they had accepted a plea bargain offered by the justice department. Under that arrangement, officials said, they could have pleaded guilty to racketeering and listed bank hundreds of millions of dollars to the Philippines. And official sources in Manila said that the pending trial could prove to be a political time bomb. While in power, Marcos had been an ally and close friend of President Ronald Reagan. And although Reagan will at most certainly have left the White House before Marcos comes to trial, Vice-President George Bush—who also enjoyed a close relationship with Marcos—may well have succeeded him. "Marcos might say I have been successful," said Giuliani, "but I am a prosecutor. I have published reports about Marcos's alleged contributions to Republican party campaign funds and to business deals with accused

international clients in the Reagan administration. But U.S. officials pointed out that Reagan himself had chosen the way for the indictment of the Marcoses by indicting last Thursday that he would not intervene to stop it. Answering reporters' questions, Reagan denied that he had promised Marcos' immunity when he gave him sanctuary in Hawaii after the



The Marcoses in Manila enjoying a luxurious lifestyle

Philippines revolution. And the following day, White House spokesman Roger Fitzwater said that, while he could not Reagan reported the indictments, "at this point, we expect the justice system to take its course."

At week's end, the Marcoses remained in the high walls of their luxurious residence in Hawaii. "We are confident we will be vindicated," Marcos said in a statement. Three prominent lawyers, Richard Biber, said that they would comply with orders in appeal in New York City on Oct. 31 and would plead innocent to the charges against them. But Biber noted that Ferdinand Marcos, who has

been treated in hospital for unspecified ailments, is in delicate health and a trip to New York might further endanger his condition. Throughout their exile, the Marcoses have asserted their innocence. "We stole nothing," Imelda Marcos told a Manila newspaper. "We were the only couple who returned there a few months after they swore to Hawaii. 'We have stolen nothing.'"

Although exonerated by comparison with their standards while living in Manila's Malacañang Palace, the Marcoses' lifestyle in Hawaii remains decidedly lavish. Their 13-acre villa, owned by their codefendants, Imelda and Gloria Tirona, and valued at \$4.5 million—has a swimming pool and three acres of lush tropical gardens overlooking the splendid palaces of Honolulu and Diamond Head. But the apparent lack of association has limited their movements. They are constantly accompanied by bodyguards and Marcos himself rarely leaves the compound. And for security reasons, their three children—two of whom live on the mainland and the third in Manila—cannot visit.

"The family is spread out because of the nature of the situation," Marcos told Manila's "We are not going to be wiped out by a single gynoid."

Like the Marcoses, Klachug was not immediately available for comment. He is alleged to have acted as a front for the Philippine couple, pretending to own the Malacañang properties that they held—in 1986, an \$7 million of stolen art works—while the Marcos forces were under consideration by U.S. and Philippine officials. The indictments are the latest of a series of indictments for Klachug. During the 1970s and early 1980s, he contacts with the South Arabian royal family helped him to acquire the business. He said that made him a billionaire. But by the time he was named as one of the figures in the 1988 indictments, his fortunes were in decline. He had fallen out of favor with the Saudi royal, and his business support was crumbling in the United States. Last America court had filed for bankruptcy, losing \$225 million in debts.

Unlike the Marcoses, Klachug was abroad when the indictments were handed down last week—and presumably out of reach of the courts. But for him, as for the Marcoses, the good times could well be over.

JOHN BRENNAN with DUC PLATON in Washington

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AFGHANISTAN

Dreaming of home

Afghan refugees await a massive migration

Under a historic accord signed last April in Geneva, more than half of the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan have withdrawn—and the rest are scheduled to depart by February. But years remain elapsing. Afghan rebels, who want to overthrow the Communist regime of President Najibullah and establish an Islamic republic, have stepped up violent attacks recently, killing 16 people last week in the capital, Kabul, and the eastern city of Jalalabad. And in the midst of the continued fighting, a major problem looms: the rebels

before the last Soviet troops are scheduled to withdraw, far more than three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan—the world's largest single refugee population—and the two million in Iran, soon anxious to return to a place where Soviet jets will no longer roar overhead and where former killing fields will slowly revert to grapes and wheat. Said Aziz Jara, a 44-year-old Afghan woman in the Soviet's refugee camp near Quetta: "Do we talk about the talk of nothing else—Afghanistan, Afghanistan?"

International aid agencies are also beginning



Afghan refugees in Pakistan: a new generation has known no other life

early next year of more than five million Afghan refugees who fled to Pakistan and Iran. Maclean's correspondent Lynn Dunne recently visited refugee camps near the Pakistan cities of Quetta and Peshawar. Her report:

In the Orangi, old carpets tell tales. Rich patterns, deep colors and intricate geometries—designs speak of culture, traditions and belief. But now, some Orangi are weaving less refined, more disturbing images. Kolossal rifles, Soviet fighter bombers and Afghan tribesmen enter stage. These Nagheenas, or holy warriors, carpets are fixed on the tattered refugee camps stretched along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. It isn't memory life; the carpets reflect the harsh realities since Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979. But with just over three months left

to talk of little else as they plan for one of the largest movements of refugees in history, the return to Afghanistan is fraught with political, hardship and logistical problems. The Geneva accord does not call for a ceasefire between Afghan government troops and Nagheenas unless, so that, even after all the Soviet troops leave, the civil war will doubtless continue. And agencies will have to deal with both the Afghan government in Kabul and thousands of nationwide rebel commanders who control fully 75 per cent of the country. As well, Afghan refugees will be returning to a homeland devastated by war: irrigation systems, roads and bridges have been destroyed, orchards and farms fields lie barren. "It is a total apoplexy, which will demand more than the normal responses," said a top official in Pakistan. "So much in this situation is completely new, and

the negotiation may just have to stretch."

One of the first priorities is to find and deactivate the millions of land mines, booby traps and unexploded munitions scattered across Afghanistan. Last month, Prince Scheffer Apin Khan, co-ordinator of the UN Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Program Relating to Afghanistan, announced that foreign experts would soon be dispatched to Pakistan to teach mine and bomb disposal techniques to refugees. But hundreds of thousands of Afghans have already died or lost limbs due to explosive devices since 1979—and more casualties are inevitable. Dunne's recent visit to Pakistan, David Libby, a U.S. military analyst, said, "I'm afraid that once one or two lessons get blown up when they are phasing, so one is going to want to go into the field."

Some aid efforts worry that it could take two to three years before returning ground forces are able to lead themselves, and 10 years before they can feed the entire country. Meanwhile, the return will require massive amounts of food aid. Of the estimated \$2.4 billion needed to reconstruct Afghanistan and repatriate the refugees, the UN has already received pledges of \$440 million, most of it from the Soviet Union. Said Hayatullah, a refugee in Pakistan who has personally crossed the border to aid the rebel war effort: "I went back to Afghanistan and I said, 'Where is my house, my fields?' It was all destroyed." Rescuing the 400 refugees camp outside Quetta, he added, "There we were so rich. Here there is no grain, nothing."

The refugee camps that spread along the Pakistan border bear little resemblance to the shantytowns' former lives back home in Afghanistan. There are no orchards or vineyards, only uniform huts and houses and tents, set by side along the rutted roads. The local bazaar lacks the colorful display of an Afghan market as willing music pours out of the shops and too many unemployed men sit on their haunches in traditional baggy attire.

The stress of an uncertain future are almost palpable in the camps. Women—who make up 28 per cent of the refugee population—seem to suffer the most. In the strict Islamic tradition, many of them are confined to their homes by conservative husbands or religious leaders who mention that the camps' alien surroundings—grapple of different tribes and backgrounds have been thrown together—demands a reinforcement of purdah, or the exclusion of women. "I am an educated woman," said Masuma, who helps train Afghan women to become health workers. "In Afghanistan, I could go out to be the boss as I pleased. But here my husband will not let me."

A whole new generation of Afghan children—48 per cent of the refugees are under the age of 16—have known no other life. "I worry about my children," said Masuma, a mother of six. "Sometimes they ask me, 'Mommy, where is Afghanistan? What is Afghanistan?' How can I explain to a three-year-old?" she asks. "That I will my five-year-old son, Afghanistan is our country. Some day, we will go there."



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GREAT BRITAIN

Gagging the IRA

Thatcher imposes a controversial crackdown

Television viewers in Britain had reason to be confused last Wednesday. Those who watched the country's leading newsagents could hear the views of a controversial but familiar figure: Northern Ireland's banned republican leader Gerry Adams. Those who tuned in to evening news programs, however, could see pictures of Adams—but could not hear his voice. During the afternoon, the British government had taken the unprecedented step of banning the country's broadcasters from using interviews with Adams and other spokesmen for 31 groups that it labels terrorists. The ban—issued mainly at the Irish Republican Army and its political wing, Sinn Féin, which is led by Adams—was designed to deny terrorists what Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has called the "organs of publicity." But it immediately plunged Thatcher's government into a bitter and growing debate over how far a democracy can go to defeat terrorism without undermining its own values.

That debate deepened the following day when the government announced another measure in its stepped-up campaign against the IRA: its for the House of Commons. Northern Ireland Secretary Thomas King said that the government intends to limit the right of suspects to remain silent—a right enshrined for 300 years in English common law. The measure could later be extended to England and Wales, officials said, but for now would apply only to Northern Ireland. Government attorneys argued that they needed the extra weapons to defeat the IRA, which has waged a violent offensive this year in its 20-year battle against British rule in Ulster. But civil libertarians and republican politicians said that British media censorship was the democracy it is fighting to protect. Some of them drew comparisons with the South African government's system of "banning" opponents, which bans journalists from publishing accounts of "subversive" activities without government approval. And Kevin McPherson, the Labour Party's spokesman on Northern Ireland, accused Thatcher of using Ulster as an "experimental

laboratory for despotism measures."

The ban on television and radio interviews—the most drastic gag ever imposed on British broadcasters during peacetime—was rattled with loopholes and apparent contradictions. It forbids TV and radio stations to air direct speech by spokesmen for both known Catholic and Protestant extremist groups. Broadcasters' parliaments may still paraphrase their

going to take it lying down," Adams said in Belfast. "We will develop alternative means of communication."

The decision to curb suspects' right to silence in Northern Ireland had even wider legal implications. The right of an accused to remain silent—and not to have his silence interpreted as a sign of guilt—has been a part of English common law since the mid-17th century. Designed originally to prevent prosecutors from torturing suspects to extract confessions—and to protect uneducated people from self-incrimination—it now forms an integral part of the preservation of innocence in common law countries, including Canada. The IRA and Sinn Féin have traditionally trained their members to say absolutely nothing during police interrogations, in that way often frustrating the attempts of authorities to connect them. But under the new rule, Ulster courts would be allowed to interpret a suspect's



Adams addressing a republican rally in Belfast: "We're not going to take it lying down."

words, but the ban does not apply to all to the print media. And the ban affects not only outlawed paramilitary groups—including the IRA and the loyalist Ulster Freedom Fighters—but legal organizations such as the Protestant Ulster Defence Association and Sinn Féin.

In last year's British general election, Sinn Féin won 11 per cent of the vote in Ulster (more than 30 per cent of the Catholic vote), and Adams was re-elected to the House of Commons as MP for West Belfast. The party also holds about 60 seats on local councils in Northern Ireland. The ban prevents those office-holders from being interviewed—but it would not apply to a Sinn Féin candidate during an election campaign. As a result, party leaders last week were considering ways to get around the ban—possibly by holding a candidate in a by-election in Scotland next month, in order to give Sinn Féin a legal spokesman. "We're not

silent as evidence of guilt.

Last week's harsh measures were Britain's first legislative responses to a surge in IRA attacks against security forces this year—starting with a bombing that killed 10 British soldiers in August. But the Thatcher government has made it clear that it has further steps in mind: it intends to require candidates for local office in Ulster to swear to abstain from using violence, and it will soon introduce laws making it easier for authorities to use force raised by paramilitary groups. With a large majority in Parliament, the government will have little trouble taking those actions. But it will do so at the face of warnings that it has blackened Britain's reputation abroad—and has allowed the terrorists a victory by weakening the fabric of British democracy.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

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THE UNITED STATES

Entering the final days

Dukakis tries to overtake a confident Bush



The frustration was beginning to show. Last Wednesday in Quincy, Ill., in the middle of a 200-km bus tour through Illinois and Missouri, Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis scrapped his script and pulled out Republican campaign brochures from his pocket. The brochures, bearing the capitol of the Illinois Republican State Congress Committee, charged that "all the murderers and rapists and drug pushers and child molesters in Massachusetts vote for Dukakis." Throwing the pamphlets into the air, Dukakis told the Illinois crowd of about 4,000 "Friends, this is perhaps, this is political garbage. This isn't worthy of a presidential campaign." The partisan authors charged Dukakis's fighting words, and the next day, Barbara Bush, wife of the Republican presidential nominee, signed in a television interview that the brochures were indeed objectionable. But members of Dukakis's

own staff privately admitted that the governor had sounded too shrill in response—and that he had once again allowed the Republicans to dominate the campaign upside. As the presidential race entered its final run,

As the Nov. 8 election approaches, the Dukakis forces are targeting 18 states

weeks before the Nov. 8 vote, the two campaigns presented contrasting pictures of degradation and delight. The latest *Los Angeles Times* journal poll showed Vice-President George Bush a stunning 17 points ahead,

while an *AOL News/Washington Post* survey gave the Republicans a more modest seven-point lead. Some pundits declared that the campaign was virtually over—and even the Dukakis camp effectively conceded in some states, drastically reducing its staff in Florida, Missouri, Alabama, Virginia and South Carolina. In its last-ditch drive, the Dukakis campaign threw virtually all its resources into 18 key states, including the populous heartland prizes of Ohio, Illinois and Michigan. Bush meanwhile, tried to guard against overconfidence. "We have three weeks to go," he told a screaming crowd in Glen Ellyn, Ill., early last week, "and I am running as if I were 16 points behind." Still, Bush staffers began to leak names of possible cabinet appointments.

For Dukakis, whose poll ratings plummeted after his lackluster debate performance two weeks ago, the surveys themselves—which have helped to propel the Bush bandwagon—have begun to seem like the enemy. "The business of polls is really having a terrible effect," he lamented to reporters. At other times, he lashed out at Bush for diverting the governor's record—were comparing him to former president Richard Nixon. "Trach was the first casualty in the Nixon White House," Dukakis told a rally in New Haven, Conn., "and it has been the first casualty in the Bush campaign."

One Dukakis aide launched an even more personal attack, blaming unsubstantiated rumors that Bush has had an extramarital affair



Dukakis blames his own loss in Ohio: 'Polls are having a terrible effect'

Two weeks ago, the Los Angeles-based magazine *LA Weekly* alleged that Bush has had a lengthy liaison with Jessica Fitzgerald, a 56-year-old acid wife. And last week, when new rumors flew that *The Washington Post* was about to publish a damaging report on Bush's personal life, the Dow Jones industrial average

plunged 44 points until the newspaper denied any such claim. Bush has refused to comment on the reports of infidelity. But last Thursday, Donna Brazile, Dukakis's deputy national field director, told reporters on a campaign bus "I think George Bush should live up. The American people have every right to know if Barbara

Bush will share that bed with her in the White House." A Dukakis spokesman quickly disavowed the campaign from Brazile's comments—and Brazile, apologizing, resigned.

Bush, meanwhile, stuck with his successful campaign strategy—effortlessly taking the presidential high road and steering Dukakis as he did before Republicans trounced in Royal Oak, Mich., last week. While remaining on the offensive, Bush's team shows clear signs of growing confidence. Last week, campaign chairman James Baker met with key Republican senators to discuss leaving Bush campaigns on behalf of vice Senate candidates. And Bush staffers have said privately that if the vice-president is elected, Baker will be secretary of state, former senator John Tower will be secretary of defense and Richard Thornburgh will stay on as attorney general.

Air week's end, Bush and Dukakis appeared together not more than—through the lead table at the annual Al Smith Memorial Dinner, a charity affair and traditional election-year stop. They kept their speeches light, as in the tradition, and the normally serious Dukakis (who has gotten the best of the press) Making fun of his own physical appearance, the governor said "This one may be decided by a nose. If that's the case, you're looking at the next president of the United States." Unfortunately for him, the polls told a different story.

BILL LEVIN with William Lushin in Washington

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THE DOLLAR DEBATES

During the free trade negotiations, investment agencies, including *Chief negotiator Simon Roussin, consistently denied that Canada's dollar was a subject of discussion. The issue was a sensitive one because the Canadian dollar is closely tied to its American counterpart, yet any suggestion that the dollar would be subject to strict American control casts doubt on Canada's ability to manage its own currency. But according to American treasury department sources last week, the notion of fixing the dollar at a higher level was briefly raised at the same time that free trade suggestions were floated. The issue was discussed by Finance Minister Michael Wilson and American Treasury Secretary James Baker, who subsequently decided to drop the matter, sources say. But chief trade negotiator Simon Roussin again last week categorically denied that the exchange rate was considered during the negotiations themselves. Roussin told *Newsweek*, "Currency is not a fit topic for trade talks." He added, "It was not brought up at any time or at any level of the discussion."*

Any suggestion that consideration had been given to either fixing the Canadian dollar at a particular level or moving toward a common currency while free trade talks were taking place elicits controversy. Economists, business experts and federal government officials have strongly rejected either possibility as workable. At the same time, Canadian exporters, whose profits are highly sensitive to jumps in the exchange rate, express concern that Canada's dollar—which has jumped to the current 83 cents from 77 cents in January—may move even higher under free trade.

Canada fixed its currency relative to the U.S. dollar between 1962 and 1971 to prevent its overvalued depreciation, but the dollar has been allowed to float since then. Economists point out that the exchange rate should move freely to reflect economic factors such as changing capital flows, interest rates and productivity. *Staff Richard Lacey, senior economic adviser at the C. D. Howe Institute in Toronto* ("The rate of exchange is an adjustment tool—not just cents to be left free.")

As for a common currency, it would require a complete fusion of the Canadian and U.S.

THE CANADIAN DOLLAR WILL LIKELY REMAIN FREE TO FIND ITS OWN LEVEL OF STRENGTH UNDER FREE TRADE

economies, something that is not contemplated in the free trade agreement negotiated last year. Even in Europe, where a planned fully integrated marketplace by 1992, there are no plans for a common currency. Instead, exchange rate rules will ensure that European currencies trade in narrow ranges, similar to

what is now another. A move toward a common currency would require integration of such fundamental economic activities as production, labor and capital movements. Said Michael Miller, economist with The West Group, an economic forecasting firm: "It would lead to absorption. We would be the 51st state." By allowing the dollar to fluctuate freely against the U.S. currency, Canada maintains its own sovereignty, Miller said.

More than any other currency in the world, the Canadian dollar is linked to the world's most powerful, U.S. greenback. When the American dollar rises and falls against other world currencies, the Canadian dollar usually follows. In most cases, Canada also benefits when the American economy is strong and suffers when it is weak, that the dollar's level reflects that close relationship.

Canadian exporters see the dollar as highly vulnerable to the changing levels of the dollar. When the dollar is low, exporters suffer because of low prices for their products in the United States. As the dollar declines, the price advantage gradually erodes. Conversely, American producers welcome a rise in the Canadian dollar. Under free trade, the removal of tariff barriers, together with a higher Canadian dollar, will contribute to the decline in Canada's trade surplus. Since Canada's exports will become more expensive to purchase in the United States.

But any new agreement to fix the Canadian dollar at a particular level is viewed by some—including economists, businessmen and free trade critics—as interference with Canada's sovereign control over its own monetary policy. Any loss of control, economists say, could hamper Canada's ability to manage controls to the country's economic health, such as inflation and interest rates.

The advantage enjoyed by Canadian exporters even prior to free trade negotiations were entered into in the spring of 1986. But the dollar rose sharply from 77 cents last January to 83 cents last July, partly in anticipation of a free trade deal. Foreign investors, who view the deal as positive for Canadian business because of better access to the rich American market, began pouring money into Canada, helping to boost the dollar.

As with Michael Wilson earlier this year, James Baker made it clear that a low Canadian dollar was unpopular in Washington.



Langley, Baker (left): rising concerns among exporters over "a symbol of Canada's vitality"

When confronted with figures on the large amount of Canadian capital flowing into the United States. But with the Canadian dollar moving sharply upward, Baker and Wilson cautioned that more open exchange rates would soon prevail because of the prospective free trade deal. Indeed, some Canadians say that a major incentive for the Americans to enter the deal is the likelihood of a higher Canadian dollar. Said Thomas Delaney, a Toronto financial consultant and spokesman for the Commerce Association of Canada: "Their trade deficit is one of the Americans' biggest problems. We are one of their biggest trading partners. The major point of the agreement, to the Americans, is to address the enormous trade imbalance as Canada's favor."

Treasury department sources said, however, that if the free trade deal, decisions about the exchange rate may require. Formal controls, however, are unlikely. Said Charles Brown, director of Canadian Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International

Studies in Washington: "The issue is really a matter of the rate. The rate is a function of what the trading balance and the capital balance look like between the two countries."

Not Canadian exporters continue to express concern. They have applied steady pressure on the Bank of Canada to moderate the dollar's recent climb. But they now fret themselves caught between two opposing forces. Most of their support for free trade, citing better access to the United States market where Canada needs 60 per cent of its \$100-billion yearly imports. And under free trade, the dollar is likely to continue moving perhaps to as much as 85 cents, as Canada's trade surplus with the United States shrinks. And a higher American dollar could have impact on the export of non-ferrous goods in particular because these prices are highly sensitive to currency rate swings. The prices of mineral resources are more influenced by world commodity prices.

But few exporters are willing to give up the benefits of free trade, even if the result is a higher dollar. They now talk of using productivity gains, instead of exports of capital and customer loyalty to overcome profits lost to the narrowing exchange rate. Exporters also seem willing to accept a dollar that moves according to market forces.

In the meantime, if the dollar does remain high, consumers will likely enjoy a cheaper and wider selection of imported goods. And, according to University of Toronto business professor Alan Rugman, that kind of gain is one area of the economy that is counterbalance losses in other areas. "The net impact on the dollar will be zero," said Rugman. "The dollar is a symbol of Canada's vitality as a strong dollar makes us feel good. It is, however, but it is one of the myths we live with." Whether deserved or not, many analysts say that Canada's dollar appears determined to move their floating currency as a symbol of national pride and strength, making it all but impossible to hold the value of the Canadian dollar firmly to the ground.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Business Notes

A MACLEAN PURCHASE

If successful, it will be the largest takeover in Maclean's history. The Toronto-based media giant, which has book, radio, printing and publishing interests, including Maclean's, is making a \$240-million bid for the shares of Schalk Communications Ltd., which owns radio, television and cable TV stations in Canada and the United States. Toronto-based newspaper publisher Southern Inc. has already agreed to sell its 2.6 million remaining shares—47 per cent of the total—to Maclean's for \$45 per share. Analysts say that Southern may use the proceeds from the sale to make itself less attractive to a takeover target. But Southern still has the right to cancel the sale if a competing offer at a higher price materializes. Investment analysts say that one such possible bidder could be Rogers Communications Inc., which made a \$55-million offer for Southern's Schalk interest last fall.

COHEN MOVES ON

90's-known Toronto tax lawyer and businessman Marshall Offord Cohen, 55, is leaving his post as president of Oxygas in York Region. Cohen is to assume the role of chief executive officer at Molson Co., Canada's second largest brewer. During the final years of the Trudeau government, Cohen was one of the most powerful deputy ministers in Ottawa and he helped to design the 21st National Energy Program.

MAGNA WILL BUILD CARS

Magna International Inc. of Toronto, one of the largest manufacturers of vehicle parts in the world, says that it wants to design and build a complete car. Magna will create a new firm, Magna International, to produce the vehicles. The new plant might be located in the United States.

RECORDED-BREAKING DEAL

Members of BDO Wicks Inc. shocked the investment world when they announced that they planned to buy the firm by purchasing all its outstanding shares. If the \$20-million deal is successful, it would be the largest buyout in history. Despite its size, many analysts say BDO Wicks' management plans to operate privately.

TAUGHING A HOLLYWOOD ISM

Bill Core, already considered one of the top composers to work for, has jumped to the forefront of films, offering extended musical scores to his 15 employees, giving them up to three years of full paid benefits.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF

A dangerous trail

Police pursue the profits from drug sales

It was one of the largest drug raids in Canadian history. On June 23, 1985, RCMP officers seized 24 kg of heroin with an estimated street value of \$87 million. It was covered in a newspaper headline from London, England, as a warehouse in Montreal, Quebec, was searched. The RCMP investigation that followed made an even more interesting discovery: that prominent Sicilian Mafia families had been using four small Canadian banks, including the National Bank of Canada, to launder the millions of dollars that they earned trafficking heroin and cocaine in Canada and the United States. RCMP officers said that, at one point, the families were moving so much money through the Canadian banks that their counters had to stuff the cash into taxi bags, load them into pickup trucks and back them up to the bank's front doors in Montreal. Now, Maclean's has learned that after a three-year investigation involving police on four continents, authorities in Canada and the United States are about to lay more charges in the case.

The charges will likely result in one of the largest criminal trials in Canadian history and they reflect a new determination on the part of the government to crack down on the laundering of illicit drug money through the Canadian banking system. Indeed, Canadian police will soon have sweeping new powers to demand drug dealers under the terms of Bill C-81, which gives them the ability to freeze bank accounts and seize cars and other assets bought with money suspected of coming from the illegal drug trade. The new law will also allow for wider use of court-ordered wiretaps. At the same time, the U.S. Congress enacted parallel legislation that is designed to streamline Canadian allegations—its extradition American prohibition into Canada and other countries.

The new Canadian legislation provides statutory protection from civil action for banks that report details about suspicious transactions or accounts to police. Said Richard Morley, a government lawyer who helped draft the law, "The bill fulfils the clear need to strip the profit motive and the proceeds from crime." But in Washington, legislators passed early last September—one of the last acts of the 100th Congress before it adjourned for the Nov. 3 U.S. elections—provides for more extensive action to trace drug money in Canada. The foreign bank measure, part of a sweeping anti-money-laundering law, would force all foreign banks with operations in the United States to maintain records of cash transactions of \$50,000 or more in their home countries, and share the information if called upon by U.S. drug prosecutors. Failure to co-operate in a formal information-sharing agreement could bring U.S.

sanctions against the operations of foreign banks in the United States.

The U.S. legislation provoked opposition in Canada. Legislators for Canadian bankers said the American legislation was not necessary since C-81 will allow police to cut deeply into the flow of drug money through the Canadian



Suspects arrested in Tampa, Fla.: hitting drug dealers in the pocketbook

banking system. Some bankers said that the U.S. action is an unfair extension of American law into Canada. Said Robert Macintosh, president of the Canadian Bankers' Association, "This isn't about money laundering. This is about sovereignty."

Canada and the United States have already negotiated a mutual legal-assistance treaty which provides a framework for co-operating on law enforcement matters and exchanging information. But there is no Canadian law that would force banks to retain the type of records sought under the U.S. legislation. The secret estimates that \$2 billion to \$4 billion worth of narcotics profits are laundered yearly in Cana-

da. Often, the money is deposited in Canadian banks and other financial institutions and then moved out of the country; some of it even returns to finance legitimate business operations. Indeed, law enforcement officers around the world now spend as much time following drug dealers' tangled financial trails as hunting down narcotics shipments. The most recent evidence of their growing success was the indictment last month of 80 bankers and narcotics traffickers around the world as well as the Luxembourg-based Bank of Credit and Commerce International for allegedly laundering drug profits for a Colombian cartel that supplies cocaine to U.S. dealers.

Canadian police, who say that they have

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with the heightened U.S. campaign against money laundering. As a result of that crackdown, RCMP officers say that drug lords may attempt to divert some of their illegal money through Canadian banks. In Canada, the Mafia-style criminal gangs and even washed drug dealers regularly use the banks to launder dirty money into legitimate business operations. Law enforcement officials say that the most common technique is to deposit the money in banks, small companies and other financial institutions and then move it through a dizzying array of financial transactions before parking it in the treasury of a crime-controlled front company that often operates in a legal business context.

Since 1981, the RCMP has managed to seize \$50 million in drug proceeds and assets. But currently, the only money-laundering law in Section 332 of the Criminal Code, which makes it a crime to possess knowingly "any property or thing or any proceeds" of crime. As a result, police are unable to seize large deposits until the courts rule that the money has come from illegal sources. As well, a 1985 Supreme Court ruling effectively prevented the RCMP from seizing any drug profits deposited in a Canadian bank account. RCMP officers had applied to seize \$750,000 deposited in the main Montreal branch of the Royal Bank of Canada by Louis Pinto, a Colombian businessman arrested by the FBI in the United States in 1983 for his part in a massive conspiracy to launder cocaine profits. But the court ruled that bank deposits were not a tangible asset like cash found at the scene of the crime and could not be confiscated. Det. Sgt. Mark Bourque, a member of the RCMP anti-drug-profiteering unit in Montreal, "The Pinto ruling effectively said to drug traffickers, 'Come to Canada, convert your drugs to cash and then run to the banks to deposit it.'"

Montreal police are supported by the U.S. Bank Security Act, which requires financial institutions to report most banking and currency transactions exceeding \$10,000 to the government. Most Canadian banks already claim to have a system whereby employees are urged to reject their suspicious about large deposits or a customer who can then alert the Sensitive Money, a solicitor in the Toronto legal department of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, and that since February 1986, the bank has complied with any customer requests in a cash transaction exceeding \$10,000 in a form declaring where the money came from.

While some Canadian law officers say privately that they would have preferred C-66 to have been more strictly enforced, the new act, Predicted Fred Fabian, a policy adviser with the selector general's department, "The C-66 will mean that drug dealers who feel Canada is a safe haven will have to think twice."

Still, the Canadian efforts clearly have not gone far enough to meet the concerns of the U.S. Congress. The foreign banks provision would force the Treasury secretary to negotiate agreements with foreign countries requiring their banks to keep records of any cash transac-



Seized drugs worth millions

tions involving more than \$10,000 in U.S. currency. The information would then be made available to U.S. law enforcement agencies. The White House has urged Canada and other foreign governments to oppose the foreign

banking provisions. Officials from several U.S. cabinet departments sent letters to Congress urging that the provisions be killed. Canadian Ambassador Allan Gotlieb sent a two-page letter to 53 senators and several administrative officials in Dec. 7 objecting to the move by Congress. And, in a letter to the U.S. state department last month, officials of the 12-member European Community wrote that while the EC supported American efforts to combat the laundering of drug money, it was "profoundly concerned" over the implications of the pending bill amendments. President Ronald Reagan has not said whether he will veto the bill if it is not amended.

Meanwhile, international co-operation against the illegal drug trade is growing. Swiss Switzerland, the nation most famed for its bank secrecy, has emerged as a willing European ally of U.S. crime investigators. Clearly anxious to repair the nation's reputation as the banker for Third World dictators and First World criminals, Swiss government authorities have closed up a law making money laundering a crime. Det. Jurg Kader, spokesman for the Swiss police ministry in Bern, "Switzerland has become a very uncomfortable place for the world drug trade to do its banking." With the addition of the C-66, police are clearly hoping that Canada too will become an uncomfortable place for criminals to carry out illegal banking.

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The Gospel of St. Stephen

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The Oct. 27 Supreme Court of Ontario hearing into the controversial Southern Inc.-Toronto Star share swap will feature angry testimony from Stephen Jarislowsky, the Montreal-based investment dealer who doubles as Canada's unofficial ombudsman for distressed minority shareholders. He is outraged by the 1985 arrangement under which the two publishing giants agreed to exchange \$225 million worth of stock in return for mutual takeover protection.

Neither Southern shareholders nor the Toronto Stock Exchange approved the deal at the time, and the Ontario Securities Commission later suspended the stock-traded privileges of both companies' 23 directors. Yet, last month, the federal government tentatively approved the deal, modifying some of its terms but not enough to assuage the minority shareholders. "A friend of mine who is a prominent Southern shareholder met the other day and said the family doesn't want to be associated with this deal and that they don't care who gets control of the company," Jarislowsky told me in a recent interview. He added, "What I'd like to do is tell the government's agreement because that compromise is totally unacceptable to minority shareholders, who, as far as I'm concerned, were the people Ontario was supposed to be protecting in the process."

"It will be a big fight," he judges, "and the venue is still open for us to sue for damages, because at the time they did the deal with the Star and their stock fell to \$13 or \$14, Southern's directors had to pay for the damages indicated that if the company had been taken over, the price would have been between \$21 and \$25 a share. So if you multiply the difference by the 35 million shares in public hands, that could be a pretty hefty bill for the directors involved." Certainly, their compensation isn't really to be paid in this manner."

It's all part of Jarislowsky's crusade against corporate greed and management excesses, which, if unchecked, might badly cripple the

Jarislowsky's crusade is against corporate greed and managers' excesses that he says may cripple the capitalist system

capitalist system. "We need some securities legislation both here and in the U.S., which is less expensive to administer, clearer in its intentions and defers obvious deals more accurately," he says. "One area that must be tightened up is to define in law the obligation of majority to minority shareholders."

Because current laws are so vague, the Montreal investment dealer is particularly concerned by the number of lawsuits it takes to prosecute any deal. "These people are patriots," he said. "They don't really bring anything to bear on any situation except to take money out of both parties. They create such complexity that you can't do business anymore without hiring at least one of these guys at \$200 an hour sitting next to you. And sitting next to him, of course, there's always at least one legal assistant who's paid \$120 or \$150 an hour. It's absurd."

The recent swap by five of the Big Six banks to buy up Canada's largest investment houses troubles Jarislowsky because of what he calls "the enormous potential for conflicts of interest—especially when a bank lends money to a company and then its own brokerage house tries to float or market common stock in the same firm." He is equally angry about the

excessively generous "golden parachutes" that senior executives fashion for themselves in the event of takeovers and jumps out that when you examine salaries and bonus clauses paid to managers, they have little relationship to their efforts or anything at all. "That that's not surprising," he adds. "I bet the people who determine these salaries are the paid consultants by management to sit around the boardroom table. We're living in a society of no clarity or simplicity in the law, so that too many people deal with what a legal extent of what's allowed, and until the government makes it possible for people like myself or any other shareholder to get justice without spending half a million dollars or more in legal fees, we're going to keep on getting injustice."

Jarislowsky is still furious with Ontario for allowing the sale of Dome Petroleum Ltd. to an American oil giant. "America bought the bankrupt company for one reason only: the enormous \$2.5-billion tax-loss carryforward it possessed," he claims. "By allowing Dome to sink, the banks and shareholders would have lost money, but the Canadian taxpayer would be \$2.5 billion richer."

Unlike most humanitarians, Jarislowsky is violently opposed to the Mulroney free trade agreement. He doesn't understand how anybody outside the resource sector, especially Canadian manufacturers, can support a deal that will force them to compete against plants that serve much more concentrated markets and cost less to heat in winter. At the same time, he predicts that American companies that set up manufacturing plants here to jump the tariff wall will now either change them to fit their world manufacturing standards or close them altogether and substitute distribution centres for their U.S.-made goods. "The free trade pact is politically motivated," he contends. "By pitting Ontario against everybody else, Brian Mulroney thinks he can win some political capital. Tell somebody out West they don't have to buy from Ontario anymore, that they can bypass the Canadian Pacific taking existing goods to them, and they'll shoot, 'Well, yeah, he's one of ours.'"

Paradoxically, one of the few current trends that elicit any Jarislowsky optimism is the stock market, which he believes has some important fundamental strengths because shares are now held by strong institutional funds instead of by private speculators who probably should never have bought stocks in the first place. But the bond market outlook he finds tough. Because it's so hard to tell whether to go for long- or short-term paper these days, he advises staying somewhere in the middle and, when wages start to move up, repaying investors, he suggests a decrease in terms and conversion amounts as much as possible. That way, investors can keep up with higher interest rates and not get caught with an inventory of long-term, lower-paying bonds.

At the end of our meeting, I asked Jarislowsky what future crusades he might be planning. "I never plan crusades," he said. "I just react. I don't really like these fights, but if somebody wants to rub you, what's the sense of letting them?"

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PEOPLE

A new woman

Her tear-jerking songs about love's victims made her a star for lonely hearts, but now Reba McEntire is changing her tune and singing about respect. The country music singer from Nashville, Tenn., recently broke new ground as her latest album when she recorded her version of



McEntire: 'stronger, tougher'

Report and singer Aretha Franklin's legendary song about self-worth. Says McEntire: "Maybe I'm going, or maybe I'm against, but I wanted that song in the album." McEntire, who recently left her husband of more than a decade, says that she has become "stronger, tougher and more independent." She adds, "Sure, some have went the old Reba back, but they have to understand I'm still a country girl—a realers country girl."

Hymn sing for a pitcher

Los Angeles Dodgers star pitcher Orel Hershiser credits God and a personal computer with helping him win the Most Valuable Player award in last week's World Series. Hershiser led the injury-riddled Dodgers to a

stunning 4-1 series victory over the heavily favored Oakland Athletics. The 30-year-old inspired athlete from Buffalo, N.Y., says that his computer, which he programs with information on the strengths and weaknesses of opposing batters, helped him to pitch a major-

Hershiser: stunning



Playing by the book

For his new role as a judge, Canadian professor Al Waxman acted out an old script. Waxman, who plays the part of a provincial court justice on CBC TV's *Street Legal*, studied law at the University of Toronto for almost two years before quitting to become an actor. "I know law won't be me, but I loved it," says the 53-year-old, who has kept all of his law books. "In fact," he adds, "some of my best friends are lawyers."

Waxman: a studied judge

FIGHTING FOR OTHER WOMEN

Sorely lawyer Margaret Hyndman, 67, says that thousands of people deserve to share the federal government's 1988 Person Award that she won last week for her lifetime commitment to improving the status of women in Canada. Hyndman—who still practices part time—has spent more than 30 years fighting discrimination against women, in and out of court. Says the award winner: "Today, hundreds of women are in senior jobs thanks to the persistence of many others."

Home truths

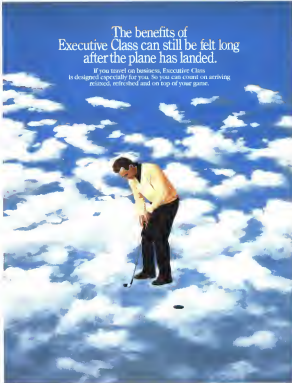
Actress Michelle St. John says that she suffered from impulsive syndrome when she signed on for her latest movie role. The Toronto actress, who is part Mohawk Indian but has never lived on a reserve, says that she was concerned about how native Canadians would react to her playing a Redfoot teenager in the TV movie *Where the Spirit Lives*. The movie is based on the true story of native children forced to live in residential schools where their cultural practices were forbidden. But, says St. John, 21, "One native elder said that he considered me his daughter. That made me feel wonderful."



St. John: re-creating history

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The whales of Alaska

A desperate rescue effort in the Arctic

I was an extraordinary young of bears. Last week, members of the Alaska National Guard worked around the clock with industry personnel, federal and state officials,

environmentalists and local hunters in a desperate effort to save three California grey whales trapped for more than two weeks in jagged ice near Barrow, a community on Alaska's

frigid Arctic coast. Bitter cold, howling offshore winds and shifting ice made working conditions difficult and dangerous as rescuers cut a line of breathing holes to form a passageway for the whales to escape to the sea, just five miles away. The drama attracted international media coverage. Said Max Gies, John Schaeffer of the Alaska National Guard: "It's like going out and beating drums."

But by week's end, reinforced efforts to construct a seasonal escape route apparently came too late for at least one of the whales. The smallest whale and the one that rescuers had nicknamed "Babe"—the one on its head but been rubbed to the bone by rough ice—was pronounced dead after a head held for several hours to surface for air as it had been doing every few minutes. Bats disappeared even as the rescue operation gained a measure of progress. The other whales, 30-foot-long greys nicknamed Boss and Crusheek, began using a string of new breathing holes leading toward the sea that about two dozen local residents had carved with chain saws.

Then, a National Guard helicopter equipped with a five-ton steel tipped concrete block ramping from a cable jostled the convalescing whale from its hole in the seaward stretch of the extended escape route. Still, a huge ridge formed by colliding ice masses—apparently unresponsive to equipment on land—stood in the way of a breakthrough.

Earlier, the whales had been surfacing regularly at two pools of open, shallow water within 50 yards of the shoreline and only 12 yards apart. But at times last week, the whales—estimated to weigh between five and 20 tons—appeared near death as frantic rescue efforts continued. Local wildlife biologist Geoffrey Carroll said that the whales—which have to surface about every four minutes for so-called "belches" to breathe—were in danger. In early October, they were trapped in the shifting ice pack during their annual migration. Unlike belugas, bowheads and some other whale species the greys are scarce at home in warmer waters and are not biologically equipped to deal with ice conditions.

The volunteers' original goal was to keep the whales alive until an ice-breaking bowhead-type barge could be brought in from Prudhoe Bay, 250 miles east of Barrow. But that plan was abandoned after delays because of weather conditions and technical problems. Two U.S. Army Sikorsky helicopters joined the effort, but in two days, they managed to tow the 145-ton barge only six miles.

Meanwhile, some experts said that the rescue operation might prove to be counter-productive. Jon Lien, a professor of animal behavior at Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., for one, said that the noise and commotion could hamper the whales' chances of survival by frightening them away from their breathing holes in the ice. And Ron Morris, an officer of the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service at Barrow expressed reluctance to use explosives to blast open the ice for fear that a whale might be killed.

The cause for the whales' malaise was set during the summer when an unusually heavy

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NATURE

leap of ice formed in the Beaufort Sea, north of Alaska. At times last week, the ice surrounding the whales was two feet thick—too strong for the whales to break. Some experts speculated that the animals were trapped while trying to round their Arctic feeding season—generally about four months long—before migrating to warmer Pacific waters off Mexico.

Monsieur's Lane said that the scope of the rescue operation and the international interest were likely restricted to the fact that the whales' predicament was easily understandable in human terms. "Their situation is one unlike people adrift in a lifeboat," he said last week. "They're fighting for scarce resources." As well, the proximity of the whales to shore made it possible for television crews to file regular reports.

The worldwide attention that focused on the three grey whales also mirrored growing public interest in the fate of whales generally. Environmentalists say that, as a result of commercial whaling and pollution, all of the largest species of whales—minkling sperm, blue, fin, humpback and right whales—are now endangered species. Earlier this year, concern over the dwindling numbers of beluga whales in the heavily polluted St. Lawrence River prompted Ottawa to announce a \$6-million plan to try to restore the region's beluga population.

Environmentalists helped stir protests after Japan announced last month that it planned for the second year in a row to send a whaling fleet into Antarctic waters to kill about 300 minke whales for scientific purposes. The decision appeared to defy a 1986 moratorium on commercial whaling imposed by the 41-nation International Whaling Commission. But many experts insist that some species of whale need no sufficient numbers to be killed. The commission has estimated the worldwide population of minke whales at 430,000.

The debate over Japanese whaling emphasized a gulf that has grown between such nations as Canada and the United States, which say that all commercial whaling should be banned, and those that want to continue to hunt some species. After international whale catches went into a severe decline, the Cato bridge, England-based whaling commission agreed six years ago to the 1986 moratorium aimed at giving depleted whale species time to recover. Despite that, Norway and Iceland still hunt whales. The commission comes up for review in 1990 and, if the commission decides that certain species of whales are still in need of protection, it could be extended.

Experts say that commercial whalers almost exterminated California grey whales early this century, when their numbers dwindled to only a few hundred. Since then, the population of greys has grown back to more than 20,000 in the eastern North Pacific—close to its original number. Still, the drama of the battle to save the grey whales off Barrow underscored the emotional attraction that many people feel for the giant mammals of the sea.

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Lennox: a fight plan that does not include giving the distance with Lennox

SPORTS

Fighting for glory

A little-known Canadian takes on a superstar

In the past, the handsome 25-year-old blond has worked as a male model and as an actor. And he eats no red meat or dairy products because he says that makes him feel better. In short, Danny Lennox does not exactly fit the popular stereotype of a boxer. But the young man from Winnipeg is full of surprises. He may even have one at stake for the upcoming Super Ray Leonard when the two men clash into the ring for a 12-round championship bout on Nov. 7 at Caesars Palace in Las Vegas, Nev., before 15,000 spectators and an anticipated paying audience of seven million television viewers. The fact that Las Vegas odds-makers and sports commentators heavily favor Leonard—the gold medalist at the 1976 Montreal Olympics who went on to win three world boxing championships—does not appear to trouble Lennox in the least. "I'd like to," "They do not know me and what I can do. This will be the first real opportunity they will have to see me, and I intend to surprise them."

At stake will be Lennox's World Boxing Council (WBC) light heavyweight title, as well as the newly created "super middleweight" crown. If Leonard wins the title—at 32 he is coming out of retirement for the fourth time—he will become the first boxer in history to have held five championships in different weight classes. A Lennox victory would give the Canadian the prestige of sporting his belt—known, rival—and a wider platform to speak out about the cause that is most important to him, child abuse. The ugly phenomenon that Lennox says made his own childhood a misery. And each boxer, win or lose, will walk away richer—Leonard by at least \$25 million and Lennox by at least \$5 million.

Five years ago, the idea of this meeting in the ring would have seemed highly unlikely. Lennox was a relative unknown, with a left shoulder held together by a metal pin as the result of a hockey injury when he was 17. And his right hand had an injured middle knuckle that kept breaking. Leonard, with a detailed record in his left eye as the result of a blow six years ago from a sparring partner, retired from boxing after holding titles as a welterweight and a junior middleweight. He came out of retirement briefly in 1984 and again in April, 1987, to upset Marvinson Marvinson Hagler for the undisputed middleweight championship.

Next week's fight promises to be the biggest paydirt bout since last January's Mike Tyson-Michael Spinks heavyweight bout. Promoted by Victory Promotions, Inc. of Bethesda, Md., in association with Caesars Palace, the Leonard-Lennox match is expected to gross a good deal more than the \$24 million guaranteed in the two fights, from gate receipts, closed-circuit television and sponsorship. Leonard, who has won 34 fights—24 of them by knockouts—and lost only one in his professional career, will reportedly receive about two-thirds of the gross revenue. That means he will easily surpass the \$12.6 million he earned in his fight against Hagler. Lennox's guaranteed share of the purse will make him an instant millionaire. With a professional record of 30 wins—26 by knockouts—and two losses, his biggest prize to date was \$625,000 for successfully defending his title against Leslie Stewart in Trinidad last May.

Lennox, still largely unknown, had his first experience of instant stardom when he arrived in Las Vegas last week. Posters and billboards all over the city announced the coming fight. Spectators with the boxer's pictures as their wins on sale for \$25 and some golf carts sold for \$12. On Lennox's first day in Las Vegas last week, about 350 curious fans showed up to watch him work out at the Caesars Palace sports pavilion. Lennox stopped elegantly into the training ring, with his son-dressed hair and a white towel around his neck, tucked into a yellow silk jacket against the middle of his chest. While a rock music tape blared in the background, Lennox shadowboxed for 20 minutes, growing and growing all the while. Then two boxers took turns sparring with him. When Lennox knocked one of them down, the crowd cheered. After four rounds, he kept fighting, rope, working on the punching bag and doing body stretches to the music of the Irish rock band U2. On his way out, he stopped to sign posters on sale in the hotel lobby for \$5.

A major controversy arose over the pre-fight promotional activities of the two fighters. This summer, Leonard and Lennox held news conferences in New North American cities. For most of the journey, the two men travelled in the same private jet, providing criticism that they seemed too chummy for a pair of opponents. Early in September, they began their training in a gymnasium in the Foxboro, Mass., area, in a room known as the Foxboro Room.

By last week, the buzzword between the fighters appeared to be over. Leonard told Maclean's that he was not concerned that Lennox is younger, taller and has a longer reach. Although the Canadian, 178 cm, is smaller, Lennox weighs 175 lb, his fight time he is supposed to be down to 168 lb, the maximum weight of the super middleweight division and

the marauder for light heavyweight. Leonard, who at five feet, 16½ inches weighed only 154 lb. (and, by the way, will have to attain his highest fighting weight ever to reach 168 lb).

Leonard also declared that his speed and experience would more than compensate for whatever physical advantages Lalonde might expect to have. Said Leonard: "Lalonde is an awkward, and it is my mission to keep him awkward. He is a good fighter but he has never

read, the family settled in Winnipeg—which Lalonde now calls home—and by the time Lalonde was 21, he says, he was being regularly beaten by his stepfather. To escape, Lalonde left home at the age of 16 and moved in with his older brother, John, in Kitchener.

When he was 17, Lalonde started boxing as an amateur in the Kitchener police-woman's gymnasium, winning 11 of 15 fights over those years. But Lalonde's old hockey injury, acquired when he was checked into the boards

his earnings in a boxer by working and, in 1966, by playing the role of a young amateur fighter who faces a wily boxing veteran in an off-limits play called *Just Keep Knocking*. Then, in November, 1967, Lalonde defeated Eddie Dora for the WBC light heavyweight title.

Lalonde's opponent in Las Vegas is known as a stylish and skilled fighter with an unusual ability to fight in a variety of weight classes—and usually wins. A native of Wilmington, N.C., Leonard was his first professional

title—the WBC welterweight crown—in 1979 by knocking out Wilfredo Gomez. In 1981, he went up in weight to break out April Kellee for the World Boxing Association junior middleweight championship in June, 1981. Three months later, he knocked out Thomas Hearns to win the undisputed welterweight title but retired from boxing after the trauma in his left eye became detached during training for a 1982 fight.

Despite concerns for his vision, Leonard returned to the ring for a hostile fight in May, 1984, against Kevin Howard, then retired again. Next, a chance to take on Hagler, who had not lost a fight in 11 years, lured Leonard out of retirement again for an April, 1987, bout. In a split decision, Leonard defeated Hagler for the WBC middleweight title in one of the most shocking upsets in boxing history.

For his part, Danny Lalonde has come a long way from the nightmare of his youth. Among his real estate holdings are the popular Corner Diner restaurant in Winnipeg and properties in New

York and the Dominican Republic. Lalonde also recently became more active still in speaking out against child abuse. In September, the U.S. department of health and human services named him spokesman for its campaign against child abuse. He also recently headed the Danny Lalonde Foundation for abused children in Winnipeg. Still, Lalonde is haunted by the memory of the violence that was once inflicted on him. When he first began to beat, Lalonde recalled, "I would pass. I was so scared that when I won his, I would back back to the beatings by my stepfather, which I did. For a while, I subconsciously thought I deserved." Now Lalonde's fight with Leonard could help to break any lingering insecurities—or set him back into the ranks of fighters who almost made the big time.

BARBARA WICKENS with LYNN REPARD in Las Vegas



Leonard (left) and Hagler: out of retirement for one of the most stunning boxing upsets ever

fought before 25,000 people. That is another level of competition and requires another level of competence."

But Lalonde, who arrived in Las Vegas early last week, confidently predicted that his punch-shaky world would make the first "best event" to knock out Leonard. Said Lalonde: "Ray has never been hit by anyone as hard as I can hit, including Hagler. I have a light plan, and it does not include going the distance."

Taking up the same theme, Lalonde's New York City-based manager, David Watt, argued that the older Leonard would lack the stamina to keep up with his younger opponent. Added Watt: "Leonard can hit Danny but he cannot hurt him."

As well, Lalonde is a man who is used to beating the odds. Born in Kitchener, Ont., the third of four children, Lalonde never really knew his father, who left his mother when Danny was three years old. His mother remar-

ried behind playing junior hockey, continued to be a problem. In 1979, doctors operated on his shoulder for the first time. Still, Lalonde said that he felt compelled to keep on fighting. "I wanted to prove that I was tough," he recalled. "That I could take it."

In 1980, Lalonde turned professional, winning the Canadian light heavyweight championship three years later. In 1982, he finally had a real pain injected to strengthen his collarbone shoulder. By 1985, Lalonde decided that he needed a manager and approached Watt, who had managed Roy Marchand of Youngstown, Ohio, to the World Boxing Association's light-weight championship in 1982. Said Watt of Lalonde: "I knew what the problems were—a bad shoulder and a sore head from using it so much. But I also knew he could hit. Man, could he hit."

After signing a contract with Watt, Lalonde moved to Manhattan, where he supplemented

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A prairie standoff

Controversy surrounds the *Souris River dam*

It is a project that Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine says makes "perfect sense." With much of the Prairie suffering from recurring years of drought, a dam now under construction to create a 36-mile-long reservoir on the Souris River in southwestern Saskatchewan has become the province's pet project. The Rafferty Dam will conserve water for irrigation and human consumption, as well as for recreation and to cool two 380-megawatt power generators as part of the Saskatchewan Power Corp.'s Shand Power Project. But the \$457-million development project—which includes the Akimeda Dam being built on a tributary of the Souris River—has provoked bitter opposition. Environmentalists claim that the project, which is being built partly in Devine's former constituency, will destroy wildlife habitats in Saskatchewan without producing enough water to fill the dam's reservoir. Critics denounce it in Manitoba—who say that the Rafferty Dam is a trade-off from a political agreement between Ottawa and Devine's government—say that the project may reduce the Souris River's annual flow and contaminate the water heading for Manitoba.

Opposition to the controversial dam hardened earlier this month with the release of a report by Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon's Conservative government. It claimed that the Rafferty Dam will greatly reduce the flow of water in the Souris River, which rises in Saskatchewan, then wanders for 185 miles through North Dakota before emptying north into Manitoba. The report proposed a board to monitor the river's water quality, which some critics say could be affected by silt and contaminants as a result of the project. In the meantime, Manitoba's natural resources minister, Jack Preiner, said that his province—which must agree to the project before the federal environment department grants a final license—would not approve the project until the quality of water flowing into Manitoba was assured.

At the same time, Elizabeth May, a former senior policy adviser to federal Environment Minister Thomas Mulcair, said that she intended to sue \$40,000-a-year position in June, 1998, to protest against Ottawa's handling of the dam. May told the *Winnipeg Free Press* in September that the federal environment minis-

try granted a provisional license for the dam only as a result of a political deal between Ottawa and Regina. She added that Saskatchewan agreed to return to create a national greenlands park in the southwestern part of the province and expand French-language services for francophones. After the Supreme Court of Canada upheld legislation requiring Saskatchewan's law to be in both French and English last



Scott: the reservoir could be filled—at the expense of a critical wildlife habitat

April, Devine's government promised to translate selected legislation into French and expand French-language services. But McMillan denied that there was a trade-off. "There was never any negotiation between the two governments at either the political level or the official level concerning a quid pro quo," he declared.

Still, mounting concerns over the environmental impact of the dam could eventually delay funding of the project. Because it will provide flood control in North Dakota, Washington has agreed to contribute \$34 million toward the project's cost. But officials of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency now say that the dam could affect water quality in the state. Wes Wilson, an EPA environmental

engineer in Denver, told Mulcair's that "our official position is we must come up with a mechanism to ensure water quality is not damaging to U.S. interests before any money changes hands."

Rodney MacDonald, a Winifield, Sask., lawyer who represents an organization called SCAP (the Save Canadian of the Rafferty Akimeda Project), says that flooding of the Souris Valley will destroy wildlife habitats used by duck, sharp-tailed grouse and deer. Said MacDonald: "They are going to bulldoze a valley that is a life zone in the middle of a flat and otherwise arid country."

Members of the Saskatchewan Wildlife Federation have called for a delay until an independent analysis can be done, preferably by the International Joint Commission, which regulates waterways between Canada and the United States. Lower Scott, a past president of the Federation, said that the runoff from rain and melting snow that feeds the Souris River will

not be enough to create a reservoir suitable for irrigation. As a result, he said, 40,000 acres of wetlands could end up being drained to help fill the reservoir.

Still, there is strong support for the Rafferty project in some parts of Saskatchewan—and especially in the area around Estevan, where the project will provide a better supply of drinking water. Devine's Estevan town councillor John Drapey: "We who live here know best." But critics remain in Manitoba and the United States are dealt with the future of the "perfect sense" project remains in doubt.

MARK NICHOLS with DALE DYSLER in Regina

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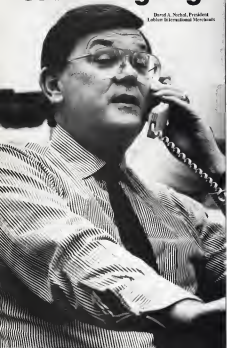
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MEDICINE

Looking for relief

New research offers promise for migraine sufferers

For the 30 per cent of Canadians who suffer from migraine headaches, relief from the debilitating pain and associated symptoms, including nausea and vomiting on one side of the body, is elusive. No cure has yet been discovered for migraines, and many of the treatments currently available either do not work for everyone or can have undesirable side effects. For some, the only solution is to lie down in a darkened room, away from the light and noise that can become unbearable during attacks. Now, clinical testing of new drugs that affect the action of serotonin, one of the body's own chemicals, may hold out new hope for migraine sufferers. Says Dr. Joel Saper, director of the Michigan Headache and Neurological Institute in Ann Arbor: "I think the work now being done on serotonin is the most promising research ever on headaches."

Researchers have known for several decades that during migraine headaches, which can last for hours or days, blood vessels in the head and brain expand, causing constricting, throbbing pain. But medical experts did not know what caused that expansion. Now some scientists have concluded that serotonin—one of many neurotransmitters that help carry signals among brain cells—has a key effect on the size of the blood vessels. Research carried out by laboratories in Britain, Canada and the United States indicates that new drug compounds that specifically target serotonin may, for the first time, ease the symptoms of a migraine once it has started.

A British firm has taken the lead in developing a migraine pill that enhances the beneficial effect of serotonin. Through an international symposium sponsored by the charitable Migraine Trust in London in September, Glaxo Holdings PLC of London announced that it had successfully tested a compound called GR-11719 on about 200 patients at several studies in Europe and the United States. The company reported that when taken in tablet form, the drug quickly halted migraine attacks for at least 70 and as much as 85 per cent of the various groups of patients tested. Now the company is launching another series of tests involving between 750 and 850 patients.

As part of that program, Glaxo Canada Inc. has been conducting clinical trials for the past nine months at 15 hospitals across Canada. In one of those trials, selected patients go to hospital emergency departments during migraine attacks for an spectrum of GR-11719. Dr. Martin Givert, a neurologist at Toronto's Sunnybrook Medical Centre who is involved in the program, said that initial results appear promising.

Researchers add that the new serotonin-

specific drugs work better and seem to have fewer side effects than any of the migraine medications currently on the market. But they also caution that migraine sufferers should not

change their long-term course. With further tests to be carried out, and government approvals yet to be obtained, it will be three years at least before the new treatment arrives on pharmacy shelves. Rosemary Dunlop, who founded the Toronto-based Migraine Foundation in 1974, was twice twice attacked. She told "The 15 years, we have seen dozens of clinical trials that looked promising at first but did not pan out." Millions of migraine sufferers are waiting to find out if this new promise is fulfilled.

BARRARA WICKENS with ANDREW FENELYS in London and WILLIAM LAWTON in Washington



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BOOKS

A children's exodus

Memories of a British wartime evacuation

It was like a scene from *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*. In the autumn of 1939, hundreds of thousands of British schoolchildren streamed out of their homes in the city, leaving smiling parents behind as they boarded trains and buses and headed for new homes in the country. The reason for their odyssey was the Second World War. Government organizers of the evacuations—which also sent a few thousand children to foster homes in Canada—were clearly hoping to protect the youngsters from German bombers attacking British industrial centers. But while the children were undoubtedly safe living with strangers in the country, their emotional well-being (arguably) took a heavy battering. Two new books describing their experiences—*My Time in Mine Country* (Doubleday, \$24.95) by Toronto cartoonist Ben Wicks and *The Gent Children* (Fifth House, \$24.95) by Saskatchewan writer Geoffrey Bliton—suggest that, given the choice, most children would rather have

staying home than endure separation from those they love.

Wicks was himself one of the British evacuees, a London boy of 12 who was sent with his schoolmates to the north coast of England. There he lost pocket bus up in the first car he had ever ridden in and drove him to his new foster home above a grocery shop. At age eight, Wicks was billeted with four different families, ending up with a Welsh landlady, who worked him hard but treated him well. The experience left him with lifelong memories—and a desire to learn the histories of other evacuees. His requests for information, published in newspapers around the world in 1952, attracted 3,000



Wicks: one of the sponsored

ford caring families. One of Wicks's correspondents was former teacher Maureen Berry, who told him about a little girl who posed a family when a malnourished daughter had died.

responded by letter and telephone. Amazingly, most of the correspondents had never said their names before, even in their spouses. Wicks had unexpectedly become a catalyst for an outpouring of memories. Bitterness, anger, laughter, affection and survival shaped into *No Time to Mine Country*. The book—already on Britain's best-seller list—is short in sentences but long on some of the most striking heartbreak stories to emerge from the war.

The sheer size of the government-organized evacuation was astounding. In September of 1939 alone, 525,000 school-age children traveled with their classmates to the country. Each bore a satchel bag, a small pack of clothes and the ubiquitous rubber gas mask. Baking arrangements were haphazard at best. Frequently, the children—wet, cold and fearful after their journey—were simply herded into community halls and church basements. There, prospective foster parents picked them over like cattle, inevitably choosing the most attractive ones first. Some of the children were lucky and found caring families. One of Wicks's correspondents was former teacher Maureen Berry, who told him about a little girl who posed a family when a malnourished daughter had died.

She was the same age and exactly like the daughter they had lost," Berry recalled. "They took her into their house and even the dog went mad with happiness."

But for many, the grief of leaving home was only compounded by the harshness or indifference of their new families. Boys in one home, Wicks relates, were turned out of doors by their alcoholic foster mother at 8 o'clock every morning (even when there was no school) and walked out in coats back and 4:30 in the afternoon. When they did return at the required time, the women would sit in drink that she thought it was 10 o'clock and sent them to bed without their supper.

Another evicuee, actor Michael Caine, found himself in a situation reminiscent of a story told by the Brothers Grimm. He and Clarence, another working-class boy, were billeted with a middle-class family in which the mother treated her own son like royalty. But she would beat Michael and Clarence for wearing the belt that they shared (it was actually Clarence who was responsible, Caine says), as well as frequently locking them in a cupboard and feeding them bread, water and sausages. Fortunately, the authorities eventually noticed Caine's mother of the maltreatment. "My mother came and my studies in tough," Caine recalled. "She nearly killed that woman before leaving to take her to London." Like Caine, so many children were miserable in their new homes that their parents soon reclaimed them. Authorities estimated that at one point 6,000 evacuees a week were making their way back to London.

Geoffrey Bliton's book, *The Gent Children*—about the roughly 5,000 evacuees who came to Canada—looks the sustained emotional impact of Wicks's study. But Bliton, a historian who died in 2007, was as interested in the political and social aspects of the event as in individual experiences. He stresses that the Canadian government of Winston King was determined to limit the number of Jewish and Catholic children entering the country. Yet Bliton also discovered that the prejudice of the government was more than balanced by the kindness of Canadian host families. He has far fewer bitter stories to relate than Wicks—not because Canadians were kinder than the British, but because Canadian foster homes, unlike those in the United Kingdom, were inspected and approved by the authorities beforehand.

Not surprisingly, most of the children had some difficulty adjusting themselves, many came to enjoy the greater freedom allowed to young Canadians. One former evicuee recalled that "everything was less formal and children were part of their parents' lives instead of being separate." Indeed, many adapted so well that they became thoroughly Canadianized and had great difficulty returning to the poverty and propriety of postwar England. But others echo the sentiments expressed by Gloria McNeil, one of the contributors to *No Time to Mine Country*, who said, "I don't think I ever got over that unbelievable loneliness."

JOHN REMBOLD

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Rape on campus

Wild parties and fears about walking alone

McGill University's Zeta Psi fraternity, based in a three-story brick house near the campus in downtown Montreal, was holding one of the parties for which it has become famous. The Sept. 22 occasion was in honor of McGill's female rugby team, which was visiting 22 of its members. As part of their visit, the young women were required to obtain male signatures on their stomachs. At 8 p.m., they arrived at the packed Zeta Psi house, where they were offered beer. The male rugby team had 25 of its members get a signed visit to the party. Later, a 24-year-old male member of the female rugby team told a reporter for the campus newspaper, *The Montreal Daily*, that she was sexually assaulted by three men while in a room at 20 others looked on. At the time, she was in an apartment in a couch house behind the first house.

Last week, while Montreal police continued their investigation into the complaint against three Zeta Psi members, feminist organizations on campuses across North America voiced alarm at what they say is a striking increase in campus sexual assaults. Surveys get the number of campus rapes in the United States at about 6,000 a year—roughly two for every college in the country. And only 30 per cent of those, according to officials at the Rape Treatment Center in Santa Monica, Calif., are reported to authorities. A recent poll of 198 American colleges, by the newspaper *USA Today* showed that only 38 per cent of the female students interviewed felt safe walking home alone on campus after dark. At a candlelight

after a freshman Chi Omega sorority pledge said that she was driven to a field, beaten, then raped by a Sigma member. At Florida State University in Tallahassee, three fraternity men were charged last April with the sexual battery of an 18-year-old freshman card at a fraternity party after carrying her to a neighbor's house.



Struggling on campus: only 38 per cent feel safe after dark

burning first house so that it would appear she had been assaulted there. And last month, five students at Frodoorville's Kennedy State University, including four members of the football team, were charged with the first-degree rape, sodomy and sexual harassment of a female student in a men's dormitory.

In Canada, there are few signs to suggest that the incidence of campus rape is fracturing these alarming proportions. But aside from the McGill incident, there have also been five

official reports of sexual assault at Ontario's University of Guelph since Jan. 1, after eight in 1987. Two of that year's assaults involved attacks on women walking on campus, while the other three involved men allegedly entering selected female residence rooms and forcing the occupants. Now, some women at the university are protesting against the handling of the assaults by campus police. Marlene Evans, 22, news editor of Guelph's student newspaper, *The Ontarion*, labeled campus police "chauvinistic" for categorizing the incidents as minor and for suggesting that the victims should have kept their doors locked. For her part, Kathryn Ridgeway, co-ordinator of Guelph University's Women's Resource Centre, criticized campus police for only reluctantly releasing statistics on sexual assaults when she wanted them to prepare a study last year.

At the same time, sexual assault by all-campus attackers have become a concern to some moderates. Another concern among women on campus is the phenomenon known as "date rape"—situations in which men force sex on women at the risk of a date. Said Rick Gilgus, a staff member at one of Vancouver's rape crisis centers: "Eighty per cent of our calls are acquaintance rape, by a date, a husband, co-worker or colleague at work." Many reports of rape by a stranger go in the police, not the crisis center, she said. "Women who are raped by someone they know are afraid to report to the police, so they come to us," added Gilgus. "But it's hard to know if rape is on the increase or if women are just reporting it more."

Indeed, the number of reported sexual assaults in Canada has increased by 87 per cent in the past five years—to 22,366 in 1993 from 11,922 in 1983. Experts in the field say that it is not clear whether the figures reflect more sexual assaults or the fact that women are more likely to report them. "It probably has more to do with a change of attitude," said Nathan Pollack, a co-ordinator of sexual psychology at Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry. "The status of women has been elevated in society. Rape used to be seen as a woman's life in life. Now it is a violation."

Meanwhile at McGill, where the Zeta Psi fraternity has suspended three of its members, the results of police investigation, reports of the incident shocked the McGill campus. "It's the complete truth," said dean of students Iwan Gopnik. "It is reprehensible, and we will not tolerate this behavior." But if feminist critics are right, most old campus institutions will have to change.

RIC DOLPHIN with correspondents' reports

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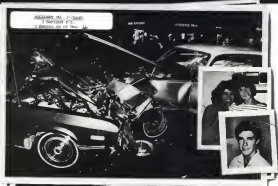
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JUSTICE

The Charles Ng case

A murder suspect faces possible extradition

For more than three years, California legal officials scrambled to build their case against the man suspected of the gruesome murder of 12 people. Finally last week, Charles Ng, 27, a former office equipment store and ex-U.S. marine, landed unexpectedly as a heavily guarded Edmonson prisoner as a lawyer for the United States government outlined a tape of kidnapping, sexual assault and murder that they allege unfolded in California's Colusa County, 250 km east of San Francisco, in 1984 and 1985. During an extradition hearing that is expected to last several weeks, lawyers will argue over whether Ng, who is currently serving a 46-year sentence for armed robbery in Calgary, should be returned to face trial in California. Because of the spectacular nature of the crimes involved, Ng's case will provide a clear test of Canada's willingness to return suspected criminals to jurisdictions where they could be put to death.

As the hearing began in Room 417 of Edmonson's Court of Queen's Bench, Bruce MacFarlane, a lawyer for Canada's federal justice department who is representing the U.S. government, said that he will introduce 94 affidavits against Ng, who faces a total of 20 criminal charges, including 12 of murder and eight of kidnapping. One of the affidavits describes Ng's alleged links with Leonard Lake, who swallowed a cyanide pill and died after being arrested in connection with the killings in California in 1985. Another affidavit concerns the death of a banker in the Colusa bank where victims became sexual slaves before being murdered.

U.S. authorities have been asking for Ng's return since the British Columbia man, who fled to Canada from California, was convicted of armed robbery in December, 1985, after shooting a security guard to the head at a Calgary department store. Last May, California Gov. George Deukmejian wrote to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, asking Ng's extradition. Otherwise, he added, Canada could become "a haven for death penalty fugitives." Ng was transferred from the Prince Albert federal penitentiary in Saskatchewan to the maximum security Edmonson Institution for the duration of the hearing. During his court appearance, Ng was restrained with chains on his arms and legs and armed guards sat at his side.

Last week, San Francisco police Insp. Jorge Brown filed an affidavit failing to set equipment owned by a missing San Francisco family to Ng and Lake. It describes video cassette machines and video duplication that were found in a farm building allegedly used by Ng and Lake in a remote chamber. Several witnesses indicate that the equipment was owned by Harvey Dubin, the operator of a part-time video business who, with his wife, Deborah, died 19-month-old son Steven, disappeared in early 1982. Madam Justice MacFarlane. Transler admitted the evidence but told the hearing that it alone was insufficient to link Ng with his wife. Transler also heard that an unidentified caller informed Dubin's employer soon after the family disappeared that the Dubins were taking an unexpected holiday.

The order of one of Ng's alleged victims was present at the extradition hearing began. "I came here because I want Canadians to know the victims had families," said Sherrin Schiffo, 46, of San Francisco, whose brother Paul's father disappeared four years ago. "If being here speeds up the extradition process, I'll be pleased." But even if the Edmonson court rules that Ng should be extradited, his lawyers could launch a series of appeals to higher courts. It could be many years—10 years—before Charles Ng is returned to California.

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THEATRE

Romancing the Rock

David French builds on his Mercer saga

When David French was working on his 1993 play, *Of the Fields, Little*, he took his parents for a walk near their Toronto home. After a while, he sat Edith and Garfield French down on a park bench and asked them for some information about their native Newfoundland that he needed for the drama. His mother, French recalls, threw up her hands and said, "I'm not telling" any further blessed thing, my son, because every blessed thing I tell you ends up on stage." But Edith French soon gave her son what he needed. Still, her accusation was close to the truth. Perhaps the most autobiographical playwright in English-speaking Canada, French has risen to the top of his profession by exploiting his own family's history with the rebellious determination of a Newfoundland fisherman seeking the Grand Banks. Now French has added another chapter to the Mercer saga. His new play, 1949, finds his now-latter Mercer family confronting the most critical choice in Newfoundland's history—the

proposed 1949 union with Canada.

Prescribed last week by Toronto's Canadian Stage Company—the production will travel to the Manitoba Theatre Centre in Winnipeg on Nov. 16—1949 is easily French's most ambitious work. With a cast of 14, including two parts for children, the play takes a bold step: it looks at a problem of personal identity: The Newfoundlanders of 1949 face it as they join Canada, their traditional way of life will be lost forever. But the audience will undoubtedly have gathered, for similar situations in mind. "The play has caught the resonance of the free trade debate," says its director, Bill Glassco. "The questions it asks are crucial ones for Canadians today."

In those previous plays—*Leaving Home* (1976), *Of the Fields, Little*, and *Six Sister Show* (1984)—French has followed the fortunes of the Mercers, working-class Newfoundlanders who, like French's own family, have lived in Toronto since the Second World

The playwright at his Prince Edward Island residence: creator of classics

War. The two earlier dramas have become Canadian classics they contributed to the birth of a distinctive Canadian theatre and have had scores of productions across North America.

French himself appears surprisingly self-effacing. Sitting in a Toronto restaurant, the playwright—a charmingly 69-year-old who is divorced and has a two-year-old son by another wife—displays no signs of the glossy egoism of so many successful actors, even though he is among the top half-dozen playwrights in the country. The royalties from his two most lucrative plays, *Leaving Home* and *Johns* (a 1979 comedy about life in the theatre), allow him to maintain two homes: a house in Toronto and a summer cottage in rural Prince Edward Island. In a field where most writers tend to leave once the poverty line, French is definitely financially secure.

His success stems partly from his accessibility to his plays. Ugo Karels, artistic director of Toronto's Tarragon Theatre, has been watching French's career from the beginning. His points out that "in a French play, you know exactly the color of the wallpaper, what people are eating for dinner. You can relate to those details—and feel through them to the universality of his themes." Karels also said that French does not believe in villains. "His very ordinary ones humor to show that all his characters are a mixture of good and bad. This is extremely attractive."

French's literary life has humble roots. He was born in 1939 in Galey's Point, a small Newfoundland outpost where his ancestors had fished for generations. But in 1945, French's father, tired of life as a fisherman, moved with his wife and their five boys—David, the middle child, was 6 at the time—to Toronto, where he worked as a carpenter. The playwright says that he has vivid memories of the Newfoundland from which he was so abruptly uprooted but it was his new home in the city that nourished his writer's imagination. "The place was like General Corbett," he recalled. "French and relatives from Newfoundland were constantly coming and going, talking to me." French absorbed the rough poetry of the expatriates' speech, their love of tall tales and a good time. He was also deeply affected, he says, by the curricula of teachers that Toronto's Newfoundlanders also for "the Rock." In fact, all his Mercer plays are touched by a sense of longing for a world left behind.

French discovered his reaction as a writer when he was in Grade 4. A rebellious, curious student, he was punished one day by a teacher who told him to read all of Mark Twain's classic novel of boyhood, *Tom Sawyer*. "When I finished it," French said, "I not only knew I wanted to be a writer, I knew I was one. Figure that out."

His began writing stories and poems shortly afterward, publishing them in *Canadian Boy*, a United Church magazine. But he was also absorbing a second education: to be an actor. In his early 50s, French appeared in a number of CBC television dramas, but he lacked the extreme nerves that the

profession required. "Before every important take, I'd have to go into the washroom and throw up," French recalled. He added, "I'm the perfect guy to write a play about actors called *Johns*."

But, French has had other successful stage dramas were and he is in the future. In 1962, recovering from the collapse of a love affair, French quickly wrote a one-act script with the lugubrious title *Believe the Devil After*. He says that when he sold it to the CBC Television for \$400, he thought he had struck gold. But over the next eight years, he sold only eight more plays to CBC Television and Radio.

Then, during a 1971 holiday in Prince Edward Island, he began a long one-act stage play about a Newfoundland family living in Toronto during the late 1800s. He eventually showed it to Bill Glassco, then the head of the Tarragon Theatre. "Unlike most of the scripts I was getting then," Glassco said, "it made me laugh out loud."

Edith and Garfield French are now dead. But the characters they staged remain in 1949, filling the Mercer's Toronto home with French's familiar mixture of rough affection and unapologetic rage. When asked if it is his favorite of all the Mercer plays, French says, "That's like asking a father who his favorite child is. He may have one, but he's sure not going to tell you." French is currently completing a film script of 1949, which may go into production next spring.

The playwright says that he may write one more Mercer drama—about Mary and Jacob's sons, Ben and Billy. "And that," he said with a sigh, "will be the end of the Mercers." No one familiar with his 17-year obsession with the magnificent Mercers would bet on it.

revision of character French is experts at turning the tables on his audience. Just when Jacob's brother-in-law, Wilf Bouch (Benedict Campbell), has proven himself to be little more than a clown, he suddenly transforms an act of self-loathing generosity. 1949 is full of such moments, when appearances are swept away to reveal unexpected depths.

The core of the play is Mary's unrequited love for French's other Mercer play, Ben in an oppressed, witty, sometimes mind-boggled but ultimately decent father and husband. His prickliness is beautifully contrasted by David in Ben's attractive wife, Mary. Their embittered but loving relationship reduces warmth throughout the drama. Although sentimental at times, and weak on dramatic structure at others, 1949 runs above its flow because the author's affection for his characters suffuses every scene.

JOHN BENOISSE

LAMENT FOR AN ISLAND

1949
By David French
Directed by Bill Glassco

As a time when many stage comedies are busy lowering voices for the night, 1949 fits the theatre with the melancholy of a spring thaw. When the play opens it is March 29, 1949—three days before Newfoundland is to join Confederation. The date of the time is April 1—April Fools' Day—a coincidence that is set lost on the Mercers, expatriate Newfoundlanders living in Toronto. But all of them are looking forward to the absorption of their native island into the larger country. Grandmother Rachel Mercer (Phyllis Hueston), the big, beaming matriarch of the clan, dreamily sports a black wedding veil. She occasionally berates her son, Jacob (Michael Hoggan), for his complacency over what she sees as a tragic loss of national identity. "Our father built the Newfoundland house

you was born in," she tells him. "Whose who he was?" But, to Jacob, Newfoundland has spelled nearly poverty moving to Toronto in 1945 has meant that his two young sons, Ben (Darryl Pinkins) and Billy (Gabriel Byrne), are regularly getting out for the first time in their lives.

And so the battle lines are drawn, with the Mercers, their friends and their visitors either taking sides or wandering helplessly through the raging confusion in the Mercer home. But 1949 is less concerned that its protagonists with sorting out who's right, least, it offers a gentle, constantly improving and very funny

Mary, Seaside, drama of Newfoundland's historic decision

JOHN BENOISSE

Prime-time decline

U.S. networks turn to the past for the new

They used to be like three families living under one roof. There was much rivalry, but the triality of American TV networks—CBS, NBC and ABC—once fueled a common beast in North American homes. A generation of baby boomers grew up loving Lucy and hating it in Beaver. They received their rock 'n' roll baptism at Ed Sullivan, raised the curtain on *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In* and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. And as social unrest rocked North America, ABC's *The Family* and NBC's *Hill Street Blues* mirrored the streets. On any night a decade ago, more than 90 per cent of the U.S. television audience would be tuned to one of the major networks. But now, with the proliferation of cable channels and video cassettes, in some nights the networks' share of the audience drops to as low as 40 per cent. The Big Three have become the dinosaurs of prime time. And their advancing obsolescence is evident in the fall TV schedule.

A fast-forward glimpse at the new lineup is like the vision of a dying man whose life is flashing before him. Starting life because of the five-month-long strike by the Writers' Guild of America, the fall TV season seems haunted by the ghosts of prime-time past. The faces have been changed, but the characters remain the same: precocious children, hapless parents, perky career women, gangs of disaffected punks, a straitlaced teacher, a disheveled private eye and a playboy crime-fighter. But Mary Tyler Moore and Dick Van Dyke are pushing their luck by trying to revive their fading careers with new situation comedies. During Van Dyke as a washed-up actor seems an especially mischievous touch. And pilots for their separate shows were so unsatisfactory that both of them have been nixed.

But even the season's flashiest programs seem to be devoid of true old ones. The most promising new series, *Roseanne* (ABC, CTV), is a time-warped, gender-swapped remake of the vintage blue-collar sitcom *The Marymores*. Sound-alike comedienne Roseanne Barr makes her acting debut as an overweight housewife with the nuclear hell of a husband Jackie Gleason. She plays a mother of three who works in a plastics plant and keeps order at home with such lines as "Shut up honey." John Goodman portrays her lumpy husband, a role that he has holed in such movies as *Beating the Odds* and *Pandemonium*. A working-class sitcom in the tradition of puppet videos, *Roseanne* uses witty repartee to tear down the ideology that most series promote. It celebrates laziness over fitness, amorality over self-improvement. When a teacher, making off to a speech

of parents, this season, *Almost Grown* offers a new concept MTV relationship. It combines the themes of *Married...with Children* with the rock-vibe style of *Miami Vice*.

With a solid track that spans the evolution of pop music, *Almost Grown* traces the life of a couple over three decades, from baby-boom romance to mid-life divorce. Norman (Timothy Daly) makes his first move on Sore (Joe Gordon) while listening to John F. Kennedy's 1960 Cuban Missile Crisis speech on a car radio. It takes a song, *The Sea of Love* to bring on their first kiss. Portrayed by the same two



Almost Grown's Gordon, Daly, Murphy Brown's Bezuzza (below) recycling

genre, asks Roseanne if she is spending enough time with her daughter. Roseanne replies in a deadpan drawl, "Quantity time?"

By contrast, the most ambitious new drama series, *Almost Grown* (CBS, CTV), seems desperately inquired by the pupae verifiability of last season's hit, *thirtysomething*. Occasionally, a smart new series emerges and sets a trend. In 1984, an NBC executive scribbled "MTV cops" on a memo, and that became the formula for *Miami Vice*, which changed TV drama by borrowing the mood and look of MTV, the U.S. rock-video channel. Last season's most innovative series was *thirtysomething*, a sensitive drama that cleverly mirrored the anxieties of a new generation

actors, Norman and Sore appear as teenagers, hippies and yuppies.

As they pass through the evolutionary stages of love, aging, wild times and the responsibility of gold, their characters undergo some striking changes. And Norman's career, taking him from record store to disc jockey, provides a pretext for the music. He turns the car radio/pole turn it down. In one farcical sequence, while he is working for a college radio station, he wins back his love—and then up a career credit—by playing the same song over and over for hours on end. The show's sound track integrates rock music and TV drama with striking efficiency.

Risk is nostalgic refer-



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ments. Almost Gessen is heavily contrived. The drama lacks the depth, realism and intelligence of storyweaving. In fact, beneath the highly-styled veneer, it is just a soap opera. But its two-hour pilot—produced by Toronto-based Atlantic Films in association with MCA/Universal—is endearing enough to create curiosity. And, if nothing else, the show's time-capsule female epitaphs network television's desperate need to serve as both mirror and memory bank for its first generation of viewers.

Other new shows aimed at the discothequing generation include *Italy Month* (ABC, CW), a series adapted from the 1987 movie starring Diane Keaton. Playing the Kansas role, Kate Jackson portrays a high-powered executive who inherits a two-year-old girl. As a single career woman who wants to have it all, Jackson is not hell at funny as Roseanne, who wants it all to go away. But there are diverting touches. When her child pleases the boss, she tells her, "I'd be happy to take a Sunday Street."

Nudee's followers are part of the new neocons: A large number of them focus on men who suddenly left Democratic wives without notice in *Dear John* (ABC, Glendon). Just Harsh stars as a deserted husband who joins a club for the newly divorced. The club contains some scotchably economic maffias, including its leader, who exhibits a fascination with the members' sexual problems. Adapted from a hit pilot, *Dear John* offers a lesson of desecration: men that women as well as women rebel from the burning time of *Dear American*. TV comedy.

The other lonely bachelor stories are less successful. *Passing Miracles* (Cicci, Gable) is a bromantic comedy about a divorced husband (Gable) and his wife (Cicci) who is continually outcasted by his teenage daughter. *Mission Impossible* (Smith) can't kill whatever trace of humor have survived his marriage. *Empty Nest* (McC, McC), a *Twister* Gable-type ad, features a widowed professor (Richard Mulligan) who dreams if he could have a second wife, or better yet, a dog straight into a dog who can make the high track race by using an eyelid. But the comic relief the occasional gets: one morning, his polio-stricken daughter comes off the night shift and announces that she has a date. "How can you have a date?" her father asks. "You haven't been to bed yet." Her reply: "You

schedule. The new lineup contains only four crime dramas, none of them conventional police shows. *Midnight Caller* (ABC) featuring an ex-cop who hosts a radio phoning show, explores the crime mentality of strange phone calls. And *Knight Rider* (ABC) (which phenomenon replaces equally outcasted genre) is the saviors of New York City. At the other extreme, the laughably rapid *Tarzan*'s (ABC) stars Stephen Collins as a fast-track veterinarian. Meanwhile, of course) who fights criminals in his spare time.

Of all the crime shows, the most engaging is Murphy's *Law* (Sci, CTV), a romantic comedy starring George Segal as Murphy, a rather sleazebag private investigator who talks like Sam Spide but likes asking questions and helping people. He is more interested in seducing Kinsie (Miguel) than his Erosian room-mate and girl Friday, who is both the brains and the brawn of the duo. Murphy is appalled to see her lose a case as a jinx girl for a power-tools calendar. Speaking in teenage slang, he calls her "dill" and promises to "pussy up enough" to drive to keep her from losing the house on "your dugs." A few raw scenes of Moore lighting, Murphy's *Law* has wit and charm.

Not to be confused with *Murphy's Law*, *Murphy Brown* (Jan. 27) brings Candice Bergen to the small screen as a network news star. Returning to work after an almost-five-year hiatus at the Betty Ford Clinic, her character feels that her loss has been replaced by a heady young executive producer. After the success of last year's *60 Minutes*, *Brown*, which satirized the neo-conservative world of TV anchors, is shown in a similar vein, much appealing. But the pilot episode of *Brown* has some serious flaws. Since this is an hour, not

Concepts that are effective in movies often lose something in the translation to television. In a suitably version of the hit movie *Dirty Harry* (Fox, TV), Patrick Cassidy (Steen's brother) tries to fill the dancing shoes of Patrick Swayze, who starred in the movie. Cassidy may lack what it takes to move young ladies the public was as disappointing that the producers might it.

While the networks cater to the *discovery* of new talent, they are also trying to attract a younger audience that's growing up with a new new range of TV options. 79 JST GM, Global's latest television deal is a form of substance for network youth. As network leader (San Remo) replaces the school newspaper with a radio newscast. "Together, I hope we can make it cool to be informed," he tells his students. On the surface, the show is indeed as cool as the music of the Irish band U2 that governs the sound track. But it is also a vehicle for marketing about everything from home waste to drug abuse. In what could be a comment on the future station, U2 walls, "I still haven't found what I'm looking for."



Cast of *Dirty Dancing* with Candy (top right): a sanitized version

In the first episode, he returns from a European sojourn to his apartment in New York City's Waldorf Hotel, finds that a new manager, who is under the influence of a mobster, has taken over his designer restaurant. A heavy dialectic, Tinseltown gets rid of the ugly new tablecloth, brings hot soap to an old newswoman reader who has been beaten up by a thug, then dodges an attempt on his own life just as he is to escort his daughter to a substitute ball. A *Machinarium* fairy tale weaving the lifestyles of the rich and vicious, *Tinseltown*'s whims devoid of irony. And that's surprising considering that it comes from the creators of *SN: Elmore*.

range of TV options. TV 15T (204, Global) offers television still as a form of substance for wayward youth. As a recent teacher (Sara Richards) replaces the school newspaper with a video-portal, "Together, I hope we can make it cool to be informed," he tells his students. On the surface, the show is indeed as cool as the music of the Irish band U2 that greets the sound track. But it is also a vehicle for misreading about everything from toxic waste to drug abuse. In what could be a comment on the entire season, U2 walk, "I still haven't found what I'm looking for."

NIGEL D. ROBINSON

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Morley Callaghan's tale of betrayal

A WILD OLD MAN ON THE ROAD
(Standard, 262 pages, \$19.95)

Morley Callaghan's long association with the city of Paris has influenced his career from its beginnings to the present day. While a young reporter at *The Toronto Daily Star* in the 1930s, Callaghan published his first short stories in small Paris-based literary magazines with the help of his mentor, Ernest Hemingway. Then, in 1928, the young, amiable writer arrived in the French capital, then a cultural mecca for expatriate Americans, in search of artistic encouragement and literary fellowship. As he writes in his delightful 1968 memoir, *That Summer in Paris*, he found "a lighted place where the imagination was free," as well as friendship with Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald. In the course of his stay, he came to see those two literary idols of his day as men with signs as fabled as his own and to understand the necessity of remaining faithful to his own vision. Callaghan returns to the legendary café of the Left Bank in his most recent novel, *A Wild Old Man on the Road*, once again finding inspiration in the City of Light.

At 88, Callaghan returns with the same philosophical clarity and moral earnestness that have distinguished his work for the better part of this century. Set largely in Paris and Toronto, the tale of a young man's intellectual awakening and disillusionment contains vivid echoes of Callaghan's own romantic youth. Toronto university graduate Mark Dedoo travels to Paris in the summer of 1968, the year of the May riots in which French students exploded into revolutionary anger. Dedoo, an aspiring journalist with a strong left-wing sympathies, encounters by chance his personal hero, a 62-year-old British political writer named Jeremy Meek. A longtime Marxist sympathizer who fought for the Republicans in Spain, Meek has just

written a book that is critical of the curbing of personal freedom in the Soviet Union. The author is denounced as a traitor in leftist circles in Europe and is berated in the more conservative, anti-Communist North American media as a lackey of good sense.

Meek befriends and advises the younger man, whose moral reversion gives way to a growing sense of unease as he accomplishes the



Callaghan finding inspiration in the City of Light

rather on a cross-Canada tour to promote the book. It is an experience that Callaghan lovingly portrays as a long procession of freezing landscapes and wild, unformed adventures. Meek proves nearly adept at media manipulation, earning more about selling himself than discussing his ideas. In that respect, he follows the lead of his Canadian publisher, Roger O'Rourke, a haughty, hard-drinking man who rarely reads books and refers to them as "titles."

As a serious socialist thinker, Meek had never attracted a wide audience, but his shift to the right brings him fame and power. In a blaze of publicity, he converts to Christianity and publicly denounces the social freedoms and violent actions of the 1960s. Dedoo, who plays the role of Meek's conscience, pursues him back to Europe in an effort to call him to account. Meek's betrayal of his youthful socialist associates that of Dedoo's own father, who gave up his early love of painting for a career in advertising. When Dedoo, now launched on his own career as a journalist with the *Star*, finally catches up with Meek, the author reveals that he has compromised his integrity beyond hope of repair, and the young man is left to wonder if one day he too will become his own Judas.

Despite the strong moral tone, Callaghan treats his subjects with compassion and the awareness that all humans are capable of the sin of pride. *A Wild Old Man on the Road* shows in astute descriptions of locales as varied as snowbound Winnipeg and racist Mississippi, and in various vignettes called from Callaghan's personal experience. Now seeing the end of his remarkable career, Callaghan is obviously sensitive to the perils of becoming a literary relic. After Dedoo first meets Meek, the older man says grandly: "You didn't ask me what Joyce was really like. Nor what Hemingway was really like." On the occasion of *A Wild Old Man on the Road*, Callaghan—for long trading in past experience—is still in vigorous form, faithful to the Paris of his imagination and the dreams of his youth.

GILLIAN MACKEY

CALLAGHAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Love of Daphne*, Dutton (1)
- 2 *The Cardinal of the Kremlin*, Clergy (2)
- 3 *Tell Me About Aggie*, Knopf (3)
- 4 *Abolish*, Knopf (4)
- 5 *Downland of Kentucky*, Bantam (5)
- 6 *The House Agendas*, Collins (6)
- 7 *Days*, Stief (7)
- 8 *To Be the Best*, Bantam (7)
- 9 *Call's Eye*, Almond (10)
- 10 *Timothy's Game*, Standard (10)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Days of Love*, Wicks (1)
- 2 *A Real History of Time*, Almond (2)
- 3 *The Arctic Quest*, Farn (3)
- 4 *Canadian Living*, Macmillan (4)
- 5 *Ed Broadbent: The Pursuit of Power*, Stief (5)
- 6 *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, edited by Meek (6)
- 7 *The Love of John Lennon*, Callaghan (7)
- 8 *Spells of Power*, Almond (7)
- 9 *Power in Time*, Knopf and Clergy
- 10 *Duchess of Windsor*, Almond (10)

(1) Fiction best seller

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Turismo de México



Making predictions fulfil themselves

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Everything that goes around comes around. If you wait long enough, it all comes full circle. Karpura is an expert, and the scripted incident eventually arrives. Just be patient. These lessons that are predicted always come true, if only one can resist the temptation. We have sufficient examples on the table to prove the point.

At our first press point, we have the present plight of the Gilbert people of Canada the arrogant (what that controlled by most all this century all of the country and believed it was fit only to rule, and failed out its paragonage jobs so as to consolidate that belief. Because of the Ottawa-based arrogance culminating in the Trudeau years, it was predicted back in 1969 by a book and an author that cannot be identified because of shameless modesty that the Grits were doomed to perdition and oblivion and that the less said nation was destined to be a two-party left-right nation such as Britain leaving only the so-called Tories and the godless Socialists.

A little further on, there was the stern warning of such as Senator Keith Dwyer (who served here as someone who made Judea Bennett look like a team player) that if John Napier Turner continued in leading the party to the right, the New Democratic Party would obliterate him. He was supported in this by one Merv LeVine who supported Turner in his leadership bid, against the better John Chrétien, who thought Quebecers should stick together, they don't, only power stupid.

We now know the prediction has come true. Turner has withdrawn so far away the map that his party is disintegrating and the odds are that Bill Broadbent, the professor who likes cigars, is likely to end up as resident of Stonorway. Which is the reason the *Los Angeles Times* has their man up tracking the election, ready to inform bugged residents of Orange County that a man who actively believes in evil and pure obscurity is the cause of a foreign country's chaos and evil to lead him to his appointed spot to replace the Prime Minister of the land.



This all fits in with the other warnings ignored as the above, that man's supposed genius was destroying the Brazilian true forest and thereafter the world's oxygen cascade. One had heard and read of this before, among little attention. Suddenly, we have the evidence. Scientists, who can monitor by satellite, find some 7,000 trees a day in the previous rain forest that contains one-fifth of the Earth's plant and animal species.

The fave are set by the 16,000 settlers who arrive every month, burning down the trees as they can grow crops. driven there because 50 per cent of the available land in Brazil is owned by a tiny percentage of landowners, their access to the rain forest is not by an American-funded highway through the jungle. So the trees are cut down and converted into cattle ranches that must be nearly the landowners that end up at McDonald's in supermarket malls that benefit as one, and 20 per cent of the rain

forest has been destroyed in the past 10 years, and Amazon wilderness forests smother in the name of progress, and the rise in the CO₂ may melt the polar ice cap and flood the U.S. East Coast by four feet, and there won't be much rain in the lower wheat fields, not to mention Saskatchewan. Don't talk to me. Talk to the scientists. They've got it all down pat.

I believe in predictions. If you wait around long enough, they all come true. Look at the magazines at the supermarket check-out counters. It's hard to be surprised. There is Elton. Not dead at all. But resuscitated. He has been discovered on Mars. His flying, faithful less—half of them not alive when he was—reborn to the flesh.

He is in the great tradition—as could be predicted. Those of us who believe in luxury, wickedness, in the underworld, knew that Elton the Prince would eventually—eventually—re-emerge for those who have the need (is not knock the substantial benefit) for the supernatural.

Those of another generation (I am 36) know themselves upon the hair of Rudolph Valentino, believing that the man of seducing eyelids could actually be dead and not resurrected from the grave. Half the features of the first millionaires of America were founded on his demise. Some paragon of white lies, never per-determined, founded his Whelan mission on the duty delivery of the tribute that Joe DiMaggio sent him a decade to the president of Marilyn Monroe, his former wife who is revived every year in a book about her supposed Kennedy and Mafia connections. The great secret the young.

There is the cult of James Dean, who died not really dead in his Porsche and secretly is alive somewhere, as with Elvis. There is Hitler, long on that list in Argentina, the great opponent when every few years get another hitler was created, his life and his name well-founded, is discovered in Uruguay or Paraguay or some other adjacent self-will cult.

Predictions come true. Ben Johnson is an example. Why was a chap who should have been entered in weight lifting allowed into sprinting events? What was Dennis Hoag doing in movies before she was a virgin? Why does Pierre Beatty want to become prime minister when he can't figure out that nuclear submarines that don't carry nuclear weapons are pointless?

Now that we have 20 Broadbent in Stonorway and Elton on Mars and McQuinn's return the scene here because of its last for tobacco hamburgers, everything becomes understandable.

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